FOREIGN INFLUENCE - WEATHER UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

VOLUME II

SECTION IV

INDIVIDUALS

Investigation has disclosed that many current and past WUO members have traveled abroad for the purpose of meeting with representatives of foreign governments. This section deals with certain of these travels. Inserts are included in this section on various present and former WUO members and on several of the more important members of the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC). These inserts reflect the WUO affiliation of these persons and describe their pertinent travels. In many instances evidence of how the particular person was influenced by the travel in question is also presented. This section has been separated into two divisions: the first including present members of the WUO, and the second dealing with former WUO members and/or PFOC activists.

A. Present WUO Members

Based on what is known about the WUO members who submerged into the "underground" in early 1970, there are probably no more than aroundthirty of these individuals still functioning in this covert status. The inserts which follow reflect how many of these individuals had met with foreign representatives prior to entering the "underground." It is logical to conclude that the WUO has recruited some new members during the past six years, however, the identities of such recruits are unknown. This section is designed to present "thumbnail" sketches of the individuals in question and is not intended to repeat materials mentioneo in other sections of this document concerning foreign travel of these individuals. Inserts on THEODORE GOLD and DIANA OUGHTON are included in this section as these two individuals were killed while functioning in the "underground."

It should be noted that underground WUO member JOANNA ZILSEL has been located in Ontario, Canada, however, cannot be extradited due to the nature of the charges against her. It is not known if she has been involved with representatives of foreign governments while in Canada.

It should also be noted that underground WUO fugitive member RICHARD JAMES AYERS has spent several years residing in Canada during the past seven years and most probably continues to either reside in or to visit that country. What association he has had with foreign governments while in Canada is not known.

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KAREN LYNN ASHLEY

KAREN LYNN ASHLEY is a white female who was born on either September 9 or 2, 1949, in Montreal, Canada, or in New York, New York. She is presently a member of the WUO and has functioned in an underground capacity for over six years. She attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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(CG T-18, 2/14/68)

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WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS, Aka
Michael Joseph Rafferty, Jr.
Jules Michael Taylor,
Hank Anderson

BILL AYERS is a white male who was born on December 26, 1944, in Oak Park, Illinois. AYERS was one of the authors of the "Weatherman Statement" upon which the WUO was founded in 1969 and has been considered to be one of the leaders of the organization since its founding. Although AYERS was not arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" he was one of the leaders of these riots. AYERS was also one of the more influential people attending the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council." AYERS submerged into the underground in early 1970 and remains therein. AYERS' younger brother RICHARD JAMES AYERS, who is presently being sought by the FBI for desertion from the military service, and his former sister-in-law MELODY KAY ERMACHILD have also been active in the WUO underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On August 15, 1969, it was learned that AYERS was scheduling himself to depart for Canada that date for the purpose of conferring with a group of thirty individuals who had been in Cuba during the recent past and who were due to arrive by boat on August 16, 1969. (It is noted that among those individuals returning to the United States via Canada at that time were such WUO functionaries as TED GOLD, BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIANA OUGHTON, DIONNE DONGHI and ELEANOR RASKIN.

On July 29, 1969, AYERS made a speech on the campus of the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon, during which time he discussed the SDS's role in the Venceremos Brigade and promoted this trip to Cuba. During the course of this speech AYERS commented as follows in response to a question about the Brigade:

> In November and beginning January, SDS was involved in sending 150 people, both times to Cuba to cut cane, to cut sugar, as part of Cuba's program to create, to put out 50 million, or what is it 100 million, 10 million tons of sugar.

AYERS continued as follows:

They are not being paid because they are not honkeys who need to get paid in order to do something, in order to serve the people, and what they're going to do is, there will be about 75 SDS people on each trip and about 75 people from, recruited from the Black Panther Party and Young (illegible) organizations, and other black and brown organizations that will go to Cuba, are going to live and learn about the country, by going to work to create and help the Cubans create a solid economy in the face of an economic boycott by the United States, in the face of constant threats from the United States, in fact a couple of invasions that didn't work because the Cuban people were too well armed and well educated. The Venceremos Brigade is an idea which is an attempt to show the people of the world that all Americans aren't solid in their nature of Cuba, and that all Americans aren't solid in their support of the economic boycott of Cuba, and so we are going to go and we are going to attempt to, attempt to help the Cubans in their efforts. DAVID JOHNS from the (SDS) National Office is one person who's going on that trip, other people from here who are interested should talk to BILL THOMAS from Portland afterwards because he's got, in Portland, he's got applications. It's a simple matter, if you're under 17 you need your parents' permission. Yes.

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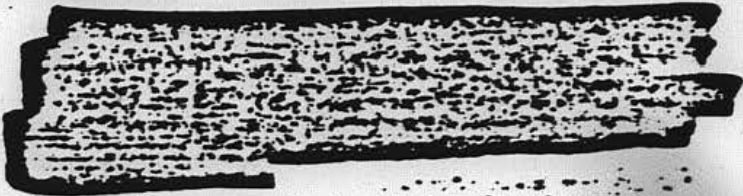
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After the WUO submerged into an underground status, BILL AYERS and NAOMI JAFFE traveled to Canada for the purpose of meeting with representatives of the Quebec Liberation Front. When the pair returned, AYERS had $2,000 in his possession that he definitely did not have when JAFFE and he went into Canada.

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KATHIE BOUDIN,
Aka. Janet Patricia Scott
Kay Lavon Kennedy

BOUDIN is a white female who was born on May 19, 1943, in New York, New York. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, worked in the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during much of 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. She submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970 and was observed fleeing the explosion of a WUO "bomb factory" in New York in March, 1970, during which time three WUO members perished. She is the daughter of well known attorney LEONARD BOUDIN.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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When completing an employment application in 1966, BOUDIN indicated she had spent her senior year of college at the University of Moscow, Moscow, USSR.

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On August 19, 1969, WUO members who had returned from a trip to Cuba held a press conference in New York to discuss their trip and to promote the planned "Days of Rage" or "National Action" scheduled to take place in Chicago October 8-11, 1969. Although there is no information to indicate that BOUDIN traveled to Cuba with fellow WUO members, she joined with BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIONNE DONGHI, TED GOLD, ELEANOR RASKIN and HOWARD JEFFERSON MELISH in the press conference.

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SCOTT ADDY BRALEY

SCOTT BRALEY is a white male who was born on March 26, 1947, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Active in the WUO in Michigan, BRALEY attended the "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. He submerged into the underground in early 1970 and remains therein.

SDS-PFOC Affiliation

During June, 1969, it was ascertained that BRALEY was the SDS Regional Traveler for the State of Michigan.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The November 6, 1969, Radio Havana announced during a broadcast captioned "On the Venceremos Brigade" the following:

> We are going to read the following names and addresses of those persons in the United States through whom you can make contact with the national executive committee of the Venceremos Brigade.

One of the four names that was subsequently read was "Scott Braley, 5117 French Road, Detroit, Michigan, 48213."

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PETER WALES CLAPP

CLAPP is a white male who was born in Washington, D.C., on October 14 1946. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and his fingerprints were discovered in the WUO "bomb factory" in San Francisco in March, 1971. CLAPP submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970 and continues to function therein.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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At this same meeting CLAPP, who introduced himself as being a representative of the SDS National Office in Chicago, spoke about the upcoming "Days of Rage" scheduled to be held in Chicago, October 8-11, 1969. He encouraged the attendees to travel to Chicago and participate in the fight against the "pig power structure." He also stated "that guns would be needed."

...TER WALES CLAPP, was interviewed at ... advised that PETER, while attending Columbia University, became very involved in the SDS and was in the "thick of things" during the disturbances at Columbia.

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During the summer of 1969, PETER traveled to Cuba.

Miscellaneous Travel

Records of the Passport Office, USDS, Washington, D.C., as reviewed on August 11, 1969, reflect that PETER WALEY CLAPP, a white male, born October 14, 1946, was issued official Passport # Y173397, on June 13, 1963, at Washington, D.C., for a one-year stay in Japan and Taiwan, as a dependent of an "ID" employee. In his application dated June 10, 1963, at Washington, D.C., CLAPP indicated he planned to leave from San Francisco, California, on July 1, 1963, aboard the SS "Roosevelt." The passport was valid for repeated visits to all countries except Albania, Cuba, and those portions of China, Korea and Vietnam under communist control. (C)

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BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN,
Aka. Lorraine Anne Jellins,
Sharon Louise Naylor,
Karen Lois DeBelius, "Mona,"
Bernardine Rae Ohrnstein

BERNARDINE DOHRN is the acknowledged leader of the WUO. She is a white female who was born on January 12, 1942, in Chicago, Illinois. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. DOHRN submerged into the WUO in early 1970 and has remained therein. Her name has appeared on a number of the communiques sent by the WUO.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

DOHRN's foreign travels and contacts are discussed in several other portions of this document including the ones on the Venceremos Brigade.

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JOHN ALLEN FUERST,
Aka.William Allen Friedman,
Jeremy Pikser, "Phil"

FUERST is a white male who was born on July 15, 1944, at New Rochelle, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. FUERST submerged into the underground in early 1970 and continues to function therein.

WUO Affiliation

JOHN FUERST is sought on a Federal warrant charging violation of Title 18, U.S. Code, Section 1073, Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution,issued in Chicago in connection with his failure to appear in court as a result of his arrest during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots. He is also sought on a Federal warrant issued in Tucson, Arizona, on June 21, 1971, charging violation of Title 18, Section 371, U.S. Code, and violation of Title 26, Sections 5861(d) and 5861(j), U.S. Code, in connection with his purchase of dynamite in Tucson. On May 4, 1970, FUERST with ROBERTA SMITH's assistance and using false identification in the name of WILLIAM ALLEN FRIEDMAN, illegally purchased 50 pounds of dynamite in Tucson. This explosive which was apparently purchased for use in some kind of underground bombing was subsequently transported to California.

ROBERTA BRENT SMITH is a white female who was born on November 26, 1944, in Cleveland, Ohio. She is currently sought on a Federal warrant similar to FUERST's arising from the purchase of dynamite in Arizona. Like her boyfriend JOHN FUERST, SMITH was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and subsequently submerged into the underground in early 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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[redacted]

On the evening of September 29, 1968, FUERST spoke at Luther College, Decorah, Iowa, before an SDS meeting. He largely devoted his remarks to a description of his trip to

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Cuba during the summer of 1968. On his arrival in Cuba, FUERST stated he and fellow travelers were assigned to a Cuban press attache. He indicated that he toured the countryside of Cuba, listened to a speech of FIDEL CASTRO and worked in a factory. FUERST stated that while in Cuba he stayed in the Hilton Hotel in Havana. He was in Cuba for approximately three weeks. FUERST advised that he was to return to the U.S. on a Russian freighter, however, the Russians would not let him and other aboard. Instead, he flew from Havana to Lisbon, Portugal, and later came to the U.S. through New York City, New York. He stated he had no trouble coming through customs at New York even though his passport was stamped Cuba.

FUERST explained how the economy in Cuba worked under the socialism which exists in that country, and how Russia had influenced the country. The country of Cuba is dependent upon Russia, however, Cuba wants to break from Russia as soon as possible. He said that practically everyone in Cuba was in the militia.

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DAVID JOSEPH GILBERT

DAVE GILBERT is a white male who was born on October 6, 1944 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. GILBERT was highly active in SDS activities at Columbia University in New York in 1968 and was subsequently a leader in the New York WUO in late 1969. He submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970 thus becoming a fugitive, and continues to remain underground. In April, 1971 GILBERT's fingerprint was found on an item in a WUO "bomb factory" found in San Francisco.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

It was ascertained that in mid-1966 GILBERT notified his draft board that he would be traveling to the Dominican Republic during parts of June and July, 1966.

that DAVE GILBERT would be the representative of the WUO at a conference in Canada [redacted] described GILBERT as being a leader of the Columbia University rebellion in 1969 and as being an SDS Regional Organizer.

[redacted]

The "Denver Post" in their November 12, 1969 edition reported on a debate which had occurred on November 11, 1969 at the University of Denver.

The "Denver Post," a daily newspaper in Denver, Colorado, reported in their November 12, 1969 edition that a debate had occurred on November 11, 1969 at the University of Denver between a conservative named PHILLIP ABBOTT LUCE and DAVID GILBERT. During this debate GILBERT had indicated

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that the WUO goal "is world communism." He indicated further that the world has arrived at the point where "debate is useless" and "what's happening is the people's war.". GILBERT expressed the belief that a violent Third World revolution is the only way to reach justice for all human beings. GILBERT complained of the complacency of people in the U.S., indicating that in Cuba and Red China things are different. He claimed that these countries are responsive and efficient in their working towards betterment of the common people.

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THEODORE GOLD - Deceased

TED GOLD was a white male who was born on December 13, 1947, at New York, New York. GOLD was one of the SDS leaders at New York's Columbia University who led the 1968 riots on that campus. In 1969 he became one of the founders of the WUO and was active in the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. He later attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. GOLD submerged into the underground during early 1970 and was subsequently killed on March 2, 1970, when a WUO "bomb factory" in New York accidentally exploded.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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(It is noted that GOLD's fellow travelers included such leading WUO members as BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIANA OUGHTON, DIONNE DONGHI and ELEANOR RASKIN.)

On November 11, 1969, GOLD spoke for some three hours on the campus of Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. GOLD stated he had been in Cuba during the last year and was met at the Cuban airport by North Vietnamese representatives. He indicated he was amazed to find how the North Vietnamese understood what the Weathermen were attempting to do.

GOLD continued that the WUO would use "Guerrilla Tactics" and that one person can do a great deal of damage. When someone in the audience asked GOLD if the WUO was planning on developing an army, GOLD responded by stating the WUO wanted to start a "Red Army."

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advised that he was present at Alumni Hall, Gustavus Adolphus College, St. Peter, Minnesota, on the evening of November 20, 1969, when TED TOLD spoke. He advised that GOLD's speech was, in part as follows:

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The biggest organizer of the Vietnam antiwar movement has been the Viet Cong. The Viet Cong organized the Moratorium, has organized the mobilization and has organized us. TheViet Cong is winning and is in the highest level of struggle against imperialism that the world has ever seen. The U.S. is being "shellacked" worse than the French were being "shellacked" when they got out of Vietnam. The ruling class understands what Vietnam is about. It's about a Third World country that has to be free, and the U.S. is losing.

When in Cuba this summer meeting with the people from the National Liberation Front, the first thing they said was how much you people have suffered because of NIXON's war and JOHNSON's war. We learned after two weeks of meetings with them that the Vietnamese are not the people to feel sorry for. They are stwuggling and they are winning. In the liberated areas the people are building up life despite the bombs, terror and war. They are building up something better than they had before and that is why they fight so hard and are winning.

People still think that U.S. imperialism is inevitable. Not only is it not inevitable, but it is losing.

What we areabout is becoming a part of a struggle that is going to defeat imperialism. The American ruling class is running the whole show and the war against it is being carried on all over the world.

World communism is going to turn around the process that has existed for thousands of years. The reason Cuba is poor now is because of 300 years of Spanish imperialism and 100 years of American imperialism to build up from. The same is true about China and Vietnam. Struggles are going on all over the world against U.S. imperialism.

GOLD spoke at Portland State University, Portland, Oregon, on December 5, 1969, at which time he indicated "Liberation comes only with the gun." He described the local, state and Federal governments as being oppressors of the world and America, respectively. He continued by stating that the main forces for the American Revolution are the Black Liberation Front, the Black Panther Party, SDS, and the Viet Cong, and said that if anyone has a friend captured by the Viet Cong, he should give him that person's name, rank and serial number as he would see about getting his release.

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GOLD addressed a meeting of the University of Oregon SDS Chapter in Eugene, Oregon, on December 4, 1969, during which time he stated the "Weathermen" will now lead the revolution in America. He also stated the WUO is headed towards a red-white army which will attack the U.S. from inside while the Viet Cong attacks from outside.

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PHOEBE ELIZABETH HIRSCH,
Aka. Sue Elinda Cohen

PHOEBE HIRSCH is a white female who was born on December 5, 1945, in New York, New York. She was highly active during the SDS riots at Columbia University in New York in 1968, worked in the WUO-dominated SDS National Office during 1969, was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. HIRSCH submerged into the underground in early 1970, thus becoming a fugitive in Illinois and was subsequently arrested under a fictitious identity in California, in April, 1970, where she again jumped the bond. She continued to function in the underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

Radio Havana, Cuba English broadcast on the evening of November 7, 1969, requested the participation of American citizens in the Venceremos Brigade. Among individuals listed as contacts in the U.S. of the Venceremos Brigade was PHOEBE HIRSCH, 3101 Sheffield Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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JOHN GREGORY JACOBS,
Aka. "JJ", Anthony Frank Rocco, Jr.
Robert Carnie Morgan

JOHN JACOBS is a white male who was born on September 30, 1947, at New York, New York. One of the leaders of the Columbia University SDS chapter during the riots in 1968, JACOBS went on to become one of the leaders of the WUO in 1969. JACOBS, who was one of the authors of the "Weatherman Statement" upon which the WUO was founded, was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council." He submerged into the underground in early 1969 and remains therein.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

During February, 1970, MARK RUDD and JOHN JACOBS traveled to Prince Edwards, Canada, where the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade was to depart for Cuba.

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NAOMI ESTHER JAFFE
Aka. NAOMI ESTHER SAFIER, MRS.
WILLIAM IRVING SAFIER, "LEONA"

JAFFE is a white female who was born in Glen Wild, New York on June 26, 1943. She was arrested as a part of the WUO "Pittsbugh 26" and during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. JAFFE submerged into the underground in early, 1970 and continues to function therein.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JAFFE recently returned from a trip to Hanoi, North Vietnam, and was the main speaker at a workshop which was part of the SDS National Convention, held June 9-15, 1968, at Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan. [redacted]

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[redacted] that when she was in North Vietnam she had shot down an American fighter plane with an anti-aircraft gun with the assistance of a native North Vietnamese woman. JAFFE further claimed to have later assisted in or observed the capture of an American pilot who may have been the pilot of the plane she had shot down. Upon returning to the U.S. JAFFE wore a small piece of fuselage on a chain around her neck that came from the plane that she claimed to have shot down.

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JEFFREY CARL JONES, Aka.
Norman Kenneth Bailey,
Duane Lee Compton, Jason
Robert Russell, John Herman

JONES is a white male who was born on February 23, 1947 in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. JONES, who is acknowledged as being one of the WUO leaders, was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969 and was present at the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council." JONES submerged into the WUO underground in early, 1970 and continues to function therein.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

In November, 1967 the North Vietnamese Embassy in Pnom Penh, Cambodia, requested reservations for the following persons on the November 24th flight of the International Control Commission's flight to Hanoi, North Vietnam: CATHY WILKERSON, KAREN KOONAN, JEFF JONES and STEVE HALLIWELL. (S)

(CG T-18, 9/3/70)

(Further details of this trip can be located in the section of this document dealing specifically with this trip.)

JEFFREY JONES, Inter-organizational secretary, SDS was determined to have been in telephone conversation with a party by the name of KAREN from Havana, Cuba. KAREN apparently wanted the SDS to know a true story of a Black Panther Party member who denounced Cuba in the newspapers. Apparently KAREN tried to impress the fact that this individual who denounced Cuba was a black American and had never indicated membership in the Black Panther Party until recently. (S)

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(See section of this document on KAREN WALD LIBERMAN)

On June 27, 1969 it was learned that JONES had given a press interview to Radio Havana. In this discourse, JONES discussed the SDS' expulsion of the Progressive Labor Party from the organization and indicated that SDS was now working for national liberation and the United Front Against Fascism. JONES talked about the demonstrations being planned in conjunction with the "Chicago 8" trial during September, 1969. JONES stated SDS is continuing its program of opposition to the war in Vietnam and continues to ask for the recognition of the Vietnamese government. JONES closed the interview by wishing well to the people of Cuba. (S)

Macomb, Illinois advised that on September 5, 1969, JEFFREY JONES spoke to students of Western Illinois University in the free speech area of the campus.

JONES spoke of an SDS demonstration called National Action to be held in Chicago, Illinois, on October 8 through 11, 1969. JONES stated that this demonstration is scheduled to spotlight the goals and aims of SDS in the U.S.

[redacted] stated that JONES spoke of an International Industrial Conference to be held in San Francisco, California, some time in the future and that plans were being made by SDS

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to disrupt this conference. JONES stated that the Japanese equivalent of the SDS was going to try to prevent the plane carrying the Japanese delegation from leaving Japan. In the event the Japanese equivalent of SDS failed, an attempt will be made in San Francisco to prevent the plane from landing.

In his speech JONES stated that SDS is attempting to recruit 600 individuals to go to Cuba and to help harvest the sugar crop. JONES stated that he had been to Cuba and that the country is in sad financial straits.

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THOMAS MICHAEL JUSTESEN

MIKE JUSTESEN is a white male who was born on May 17, 1950, in Sacramento, California. JUSTESEN was highly involved in WUO activities in the Seattle, Washington, area prior to submerging into the WUO underground in early 1970 wherein he continues to function.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JUSTESEN was the SDS-WUO representative to Japan in 1969. (Further details of his activities in connection with this matter are contained in Section II of this document.)

"The Puget Sound Partisan" has been publicly identified by representatives of the Seattle Liberation Front as being the successor publication to the defunct underground newspaper "The Helix." In their July 15, 1970, edition, Volume 1, #1, appeared the following letter from MIKE JUSTESEN which tends to define his feelings at the time:

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The letter from Mike Justesen is as follows:

Comrades,

The pigs are so fucked up they couldn't find their own asshole if it went underground. Thousands of kids are underground in this country: draft resistors, AWOLS, demonstrators, Black revolutionaries like Rap and Eldridge. Everyone dug Bob Dylan when he said "get jailed, jump bail." And as Bernadine Dohrn said, "The outlaws are in every tribe and commune."

People squatting on land in the desert or mountains and brothers and sisters in the cities dig that you have to seize life from Amerika. So, it is natural for them to hide and support us, not because the man has put coincidental labels on us (radical-radical,) but because we are all trying to find a life in a system that only recognizes death.

Most people who go to the hills, or who get very far into dope and music to escape the death trap, still think and act the way Amerika taught them to. You see it in the selfish, hidden ways they treat each other, or in the insecurity of their kids. They feel isolated and defeated and they don't see any way out, so they turn the desperation back on themselves.

We Have the same problems. We hang the revolution up around ourselves, and forget about the strength of the Third World, the changes Amerika has gone through because of revolution in the colonies. We think solely of ourselves, and ignore the growth of those movements: the Tupamaro urban guerillas ripping off $10 million in Uruguay, Syria shutting off US oil, Cuba producing a record-breaking sugar harvest, and the VC winning. The trend of revolution against imperialism is there, but the brainwash of Amerika prevents us from understanding it. We have to be conscious sources, and taxing it in protracted war.

When we aren't, the revolution often turns into a formula, a conglomeration of phrases—something to repeat by rote to make sure it is still there. When we build our lives around the correct line people know that it is only words. We didn't join the revolution for that. Strong action motivated us—whether it was Huey with a gun, riots, or Vietnam winning-because power is the beginning of change. It creates the belief that you can let it all hang out because there is no chance of losing.

Our comrades in the Third World have created a future for us. No longer can imperialism just reap profits from their exported capital. The colonies are exacting a price for exploitation: revolutionary war. Amerika's defense of its empire only brings the war home. The factories, ports, induction stations, army bases and schools of this country are the nerve center of the repressive apparatus that keeps imperialism alive. The pain of every wound on the lines is transmitted to the brain.

The man tries to use us to protect him from the pain, but to do this he must change our lives. He forces us into the army and changes the schools into jails. The culture we create as an alternative becomes so threatening that he sends his pigs to attack every aspect of it. Then fascism touches our lives, we don't dig it; the man directs our hate at Vietnam and Blacks.

but our hate revolts and takes aim at the man himself.

We understand that our place is with the Third World revolution. For too long we acted as the man's stooges—in the schools, the army, in the factories—and accepted his bribes. But no more! Now we are the allies of the slaves we once possessed; their wars are ours. Our only demand is theirs: that we join in the liberation of mankind.

We don't have to be isolated and desperate; we have a strategy. We can catch the oppressive system in a pincers: the army between Vietnam and ourselves, the pigs between blacks and ourselves.

We have made a beginning in attacking the institutions that are already weakened, to push them towards death. But now we must go on the offensive, all of us struggling as hard as Vietnam, and calling on our people to do the same.

Our lives, the street actions, the actions of the midnight ramblers—these are the alternatives young people look for. The way we fight, fuck, smoke dope, and struggle with them and ourselves shows we understand that history is on our side—that we are children of the future. Venceremos!

M.T.J.

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HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER,
Aka. Dennis Egerton Holefca,
"Danny," Steve Dash

HOWARD MACHTINGER is a white male who was born in the Bronx, New York, on April 23, 1946. Considered to be one of the leading WUO members since the organization's creation in June, 1969, MACHTINGER frequented the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during 1969, participated in the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. MACHTINGER submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970, thereby becoming a fugitive. He was subsequently arrested by the FBI in New York on September 19, 1973, however, jumped the bond and resubmerged into the underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

A November 20, 1969, broadcast of Radio Havana in Cuba transmitted in the English language announced that HOWIE MACHTINGER of 3138 North Broadway, Chigago, Illinois, was an individual in the U.S. who would serve as a recruiting contact for the Venceremos Brigade

For more details on how MACHTINGER has been affected by unfriendly foreign powers, see Section 1, Subsection "Internationalism."

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DIANA OUGHTON-Deceased

The late DIANA OUGHTON was a white female who was born on January 26, 1942, in Chicago, Illinois. The girl friend of underground WUO leader WILLIAM AYERS, OUGHTON was arrested during the "Days of Rage" riots and later attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting in December, 1969. OUGHTON submerged into the underground in early 1970 and was subsequently killed when a WUO "bomb factory" in New York accidentally exploded on March 2, 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

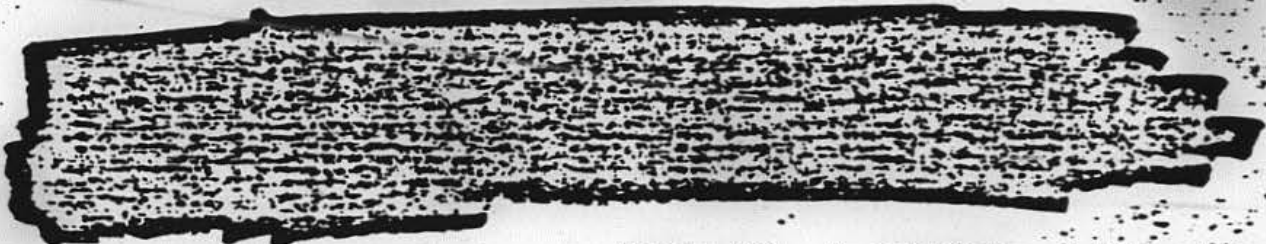
B1

(Fellow travelers on this trip included such leading WUO members as BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN, DIONNE DONGHI, TED GOLD and ELEANOR RASKIN.)

A Radio Havana broadcast made on November 7, 1969, from Havana named DIANA OUGHTON, 320 Harper Street, Detroit, Michigan, as being a person to contact in order to make arrangements for participating in the Venceremos Brigade.

ELEANOR EVELYN RASKIN,
Aka. Eleanor Stein

ELEANOR RASKIN is a white female who was born on March 16, 1946, in Washington, D.C. The wife of JONAH RASKIN, ELEANOR RASKIN was a former employee of the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during early 1970. RASKIN attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in late December, 1969, and submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970 where she continues to function.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(CG T-18, 7/7/69)

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MARK WILLIAM RUDD,
Aka. Mark William Rudnitsky,
Frank Henry Koch,
Anthony Goodman

MARK RUDD is a white male who was born on June 2, 1947, in Irvington, New Jersey. RUDD, who led the riots at New York's Columbia University during early 1968, was acknowledged as one of the leaders of the WUO when the group submerged into the underground in early 1970. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint,Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts
(See Section II)

The February 9, 1968, issue of the "Columbia Daily Spectator," an official newspaper of Columbia University, carried an article on the first page entitled "Rudd Leaves U.S.A. on SDS Cuban Trip, to Return in March." The article states that RUDD left for Mexico on Monday with 19 other representatives of the National Organization of SDS, which will eventually take them to Cuba for two weeks. The purpose of the trip was not mentioned and a spokesman for SDS in Chicago stated he was withholding comment until they returned.

MARK RUDD was interviewed by FRANCISCO PORTELA of Prensa Latina, the Cuban news agency in New York City, on June 11, 1968, on the motivations behind the spread of the student struggle in North American universities and the participation of SDS in that struggle. Among other comments RUDD stated "The struggle of the people of the Third World is very closely linked to the point of view of the Cuban people about that struggle. In fact, we consider that the Cuban criterion on the struggle in America is perhaps the correct way in which the revolution will take place....As is known, we have taken from Che his slogan: Create two, three,many Vietnams. Thus we have as our slogan: Create two, three, many Columbias...."

The International Assembly of Revolutionary Student Movements, co-sponsored by SDS and the Strike Coordinating Committee at Columbia University, was held in New York City

September 18-24, 1968. The assembly was called to explore the ways and means of creating revolutions in the highly industrialized countries of the world and brought together many top people of the youth revolutionary movements in France, Germany, England, Italy, Sweden, Mexico and Canada. In attendance were some top figures in the American revolutionary movement, including MARK RUDD, chairman of SDS at Columbia University.

"The Weather Underground" report of U.S. Senate Committee on the Judiciary, January 30,1975, page 98

The following is part of an interview of MARK RUDD by WAAC Radio on September 30, 1969, at Terre Haute, Indiana:

BOB ROUSE (Announcer WAAC Radio) Excuse me for interrupting but you said a moment ago that the primary purpose of the SDS is to inform.

RUDD: No, it's to fight.

ROUSE: You mean literally fight.

RUDD: The purpose...

ROUSE: To overthrow our government as you stated before, right.

RUDD: No, that's the goal. Absolutely. But I said the purpose was to win Americans to this.

ROUSE: All right I want to come back and you want to overthrow the American government. You want to get rid of the big imperialistic, capitalistic aggressor. I believe that is what you would term it.

RUDD: Well, imperialism is the word for it. That is right. It is a word that means that there is a process of building an empire, but the thing is this. It does not make any difference what you or I say or what I want, see. The only difference in fact the only significant thing that has happened that bears on this question of revolution is that it has already started. The Vietnamese have made revolution against the U.S.

ROUSE: Well, you have probably been asked this question a thousand times but I have yet to hear an answer. What do you propose instead of what we have at present. You want to get rid of our government but what are we going to replace it with in your opinion.

RUDD: I cannot give you, I certainly, absolutely I will be very honest with you. The revolution has tried to be in fact at every moment, but there is no cookbook recipe for what the world is going to look like. It is going to be a long, hard process....And once you are a revolutionary, your whole life changes. Your relations to each other, the kinds of male-female relations, the kind of way you look at the world is one of struggle.... The point is this people change, people are changing constantly through the process of revolution. I can't give you a formula for what life is going to be like. All I can say is that this country is falling apart. Whether we like it or whether we even know it now or not. And that there is no choice. There is absolutely no choice.

ROUSE: You have talked around my question but you have not given me any kind of an answer, you...

RUDD: I said I don't know. But I said things are so bad, things are so bad world wide that the American people you and I don't have a choice. That the revolution is being forced on us by outside force and that is good.

ROUSE: In other words you are doing away with class structures?

RUDD: We are saying that classes are exploitative. Absolutely and that most of the people in the world are on the bottom and many people in the U.S. are on the bottom and that as far as material goods are concerned everyone should have the means of life, absolutely.

ROUSE: Then you are also taking away from individual incentive then?

RUDD: Well, I don't know about individual incentive considering that in socialist countries, I have been in one socialist country, people do something that in a lot of ways is greater. The incentive is to work for the people as a whole, for the whole country, or actually in Cuba where I worked, the people not only worked for the Cuban people but also worked and struggled and produced stuff for the people of the whole world. In this tiny little country but they have what is called socialist consciousness, communist consciousness and it is not just based on me first. I am not condemning the American people for saying me first. I am saying that is the way the system is.

ROUSE: Well, are you saying to me then that life in Cuba, and life in Russia and life in North Vietnam or any other communist country is better than life in the U.S.

RUDD: Well, first of all, I think that it is true that life in Cuba for the Cuban people is a lot better off than in a lot of ways than life in the U.S., even though they have tremendous economic problems for a tiny country. Russia I am not going to defend, because I don't think Russia is a communist country.

ROUSE: You leave me with the impression you feel like we're in Vietnam for our own gain, that we are there because we want the property in South Vietnam and for no other reason. Is that what you believe?

RUDD: This is a political gain absolutely. But an economical and political gain. The U.S. very much wants to build a ring of satellites around China in order to hold in and also wants to hold back social revolution.

ROUSE: Right, they want to contain communism.

RUDD: Yes.

ROUSE: Which is what you are opposed to.

RUDD: Which you favor.

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RUDD: We are saying that communism is a system that benefits the people of the world and will eventually benefit the Americans. But we say that there is a lot of gain. Now look they may not be gaining so much in Vietnam although there are certain rubber plantations, a lot of resources to be directed in Vietnam. But Latin America is a real gem, for the Americans, it has got oil, it has got lots of natural resources in the line of minerals. It has got agricultural products. Latin America is a good place to invest American money, and the Americans know, excuse me the American ruling class not the people generally know that if Vietnam falls that the people who are really miserable, who are really bad off in Latin America, are going to be taking up a gun like the Vietnamese people have done. Sixteen million Vietnamese in South Vietnam and another sixteen million in North Vietnam have just about defeated the U.S. And that is a real kind of source of strength for Latin America.

ROUSE: What do you think would be the situation if FIDEL CASTRO had a piece of the action down in South America?

RUDD: Well, FIDEL CASTRO and the Communist Party too, does have a piece of the action, that is Cuba and the situation has been that the U.S. is totally freaked out because they lost their sugar industry in Cuba, they lost their, a lot of their investments in industry in Cuba that made a tremendous profit. And they lost political control of that country. In Cuba, I was there a year and a half ago...

ROUSE: How long were you there?

RUDD: For four weeks and I speak Spanish and I went everywhere I wanted and I spoke to hundreds of people. In Cuba I found that over the nine year period at that time roads had been built, schools had been built, people had businesses when they had been hungry before, and hospitals in rural areas where before no doctors went. Doctors stayed in Havana to treat the wealthy.

RUDD: Well, a lot of good, solid anti-communist questions. The only thing that I can say about all of them is boil them down and to give a short answer which is that I am part of a faction that is somewhat Maoist,...We believe that third world revolution is happening, that the black struggle is happening, it is starting now....Are you going to fight. Are you going to be on the side of people who are oppressed against the oppressors. Are you going to be for building a much, a much better society, and to say that this is a racist is a terrible distortion, an absolute distortion. There is one other thing I want to talk about. That is we are holding demonstrations and actions in Chicago next week. It is going to be around the trial of eight people who were charged with federal crime of incitement to riot for last year's Chicago Democratic Convention actions. Our demands are U.S. out of Vietnam, one demand. Another demand is police, occupation troops out of black communities. And U.S. troops out of everywhere in the world,65 countries where they are occupying bases and where they are actually maintaining the American rule. Those are our demands, or major demands.

ROUSE: All right in the Indiana State University newspaper, that we are quoting BOB MILLER now who is the head of the SDS Chapter here. He says our main emphasis will be on the total governmental structures of the U.S. and the war will only be a particular instance for the U.S. policy.

RUDD: OK, then read on what else he says. And the example of their imperialism. What he is saying is that there is a system, imperialism. You mentioned the word before. You used the word. The system of creating an empire. The word is a part of that. It is the most hideous part of that, it is the part that is destroying Vietnam and destroying the U.S. reciprocally and it is clear that it is destroying the U.S. if people just have eyes to look around them. The way we can begin is by fighting that war. By actually ending it in Vietnam and continuing the same war that the Vietnamese have fought against this small class here at home. That is why we use the slogan bring the war home for this action.

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ROUSE: You are talking about, MARK, a lot of people pretty outspoken as you are yourself. What you propose well let me rephrase that, in any other country, in a communist country today do you think that you would have the freedom of speech that you have in this country?

RUDD: In a communist country today I would be fighting, doing the same thing I am doing now. Fighting on the side of the Vietnamese and the blacks, fighting on the side of the revolution. About freedom of speech, I will ----- freedom of speech in this country until such time as it becomes effective. Then I would be put in jail or killed. Already they sent me up on a phony pot charge, a marijuana charge in New York State. Already they are trying to move, the government is trying to move in a number of ways, to put a lot of us in jail. Part of the liberalism of this country is the people believing that freedom of speech exists. It exists only to the time it is effective. Now if I was in Cuba and I fought for a revolution that freed the Cuban people from total misery and freed them from the U.S., I would not really much like the idea of someone coming along and advocating that Cuba go back to a system of misery and slavery.

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MICHAEL LOUIS SPIEGEL

SPIEGEL is a white male who was born on August 16, 1946, in Portland, Oregon. A former National Secretary of SDS in 1967-1968, SPIEGEL joined the WUO faction in 1969 and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage"riots in Chicago during October, 1969. He attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. He submerged into the underground in early 1970 and continues to remain therein.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On September 26, 1967, SPIEGEL, born August 16, 1946, at Portland, Oregon, made application for a passport at Chicago and was issued U.S. Passport [illegible] on the same date in Chicago. The passport contained restrictions against travel to Cuba, mainland China, North Korea, North Vietnam and the Syrian Arab Republic. He listed his permanent address as 1919 Southwest Stephenson Street, Portland, Oregon, and his mailing address as 1619 West Warren Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois, in care of VENEZIALE. He applied for the passport for travel to England and France for a one month stay for the purpose of sightseeing and indicated his approximate departure date as November 1, 1967.

On May 23, 1968, source made available the April 12, 1968, edition of "Bohemia," a weekly news magazine published in Havana, Cuba, under the direction and control of the Cuban government. On page 47 of that magazine there appeared an article concerning SPIEGEL, as translated from the Spanish language, which revealed in part the following information:

> Mike Spiegel, leader of the organization Students for a Democratic Society, telephonically advised Radio Havana, Cuba on the status of the racial struggle in Chicago, Illinois,during the month of April, 1968. Spiegel, speaking from Chicago, advised that on Saturday, April 6th, during the evening, they brought tanks into the streets and there were big fire fights here. Only two or three blocks from this office, large fires broke out. Our group organized a demonstration in which 300 persons took part. We marched toward the Headquarters of the National Guard,

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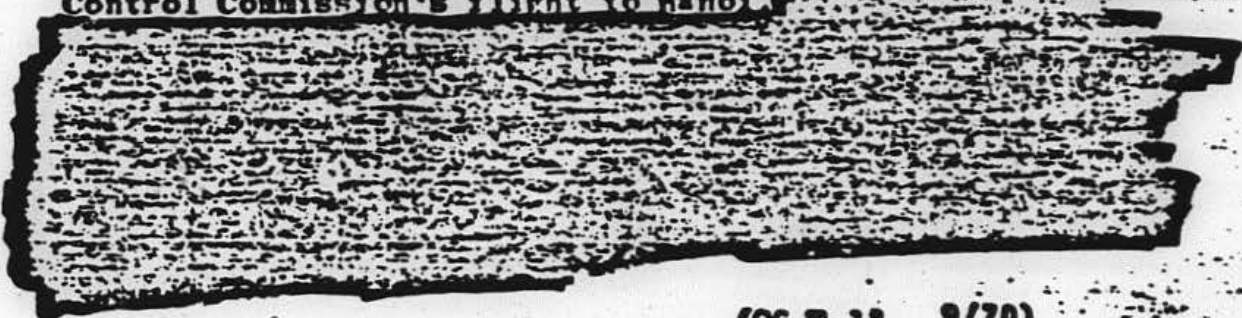
but the troops attacked us with tear gas. Fifty of our comrades were arrested.

Speigel further concluded that we are taking the initiative so that the problems of racism and in racial genocide in the United States will be brought before the United Nations.

A meeting for the Committee for University Reform of American University was held at 4202 River Road, N.W., Washington, D.C., on September 11, 1968, attended by approximately 40 people, including American University students, faculty members and members of the Washington, D.C. Regional Office of SDS. SPIEGEL, a former national secretary of SDS, was among those present.

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CATHLYN PLATT WILKERSON

CATHY WILKERSON is a white female who was born on January 14, 1945 in Bronxville, New York. Presently considered to be one of the leaders of the WUO, WILKERSON was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. In March, 1970 she was observed fleeing her father's townhouse in New York in company with WUO member KATHIE BOUDIN as the building was being destroyed by a series of explosions. Investigation disclosed the location to have been a WUO "bomb factory." Three WUO members died in the blast.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

In September, 1970 it was ascertained that in November, 1967 the North Vietnamese Embassy in Phnom Penh had requested reservations for four individuals including WILKERSON on the November 24 flight of the International Control Commission's flight to Hanoi.

(CG T-18, 9/70)

The December 18, 1967 edition of the SDS' official publication, "New Left Notes" contained an article entitled, "Delegation to Hanoi Returns" in which it was indicated that WILKERSON was among a group of four individuals who had visited Paris, France and Cambodia in November, 1967 their ultimate destination being Hanoi. Due to heavy bombing of Hanoi they were unable to get to North Vietnam but stayed ten days in Cambodia having discussions with Vietnamese officials and Cambodians. WILKERSON has made numerous speeches and written several articles concerning her experiences in the Far East, in all of which she has stressed failing morale of U.S. troops.

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The Volume 2, Number 3, January 15, 1968 issue of "Spark," an SDS publication at the University of Maryland, reflects an article on pages 1 and 2, written by CATHY WILKERSON, captioned "The U.S. Is Losing In Vietnam, A Report On A Trip To Cambodia," which stated, in part, the following:

> I recently returned from a ten day trip to Cambodia. The Federation of Youth of the Democratic Republic in Vietnam (North Vietnam) had invited a delegation from the American student movement to come to the DRV and meet with North Vietnamese students and young working people. The delegation consisted of three people from Students for a Democratic Society, and one person from the Mobilization to End the War in Vietnam....
>
> ...As a result, the group stayed in Cambodia, where we met and talked to both representatives of the DRV and the South Vietnamese National Liberation Front (NLF). Of all the information we collected in our talks, the single most outstanding fact (and the one which will most shock those of us who learn about the war only through the U.S. mass media) is that the NLF feels that it is decisively winning the war, and that the U.S. is in fact in a desperate military situation....

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DONNA JEAN WILLMOTT

DONNA WILLMOTT is a white female who was born on June 30, 1950 in Akron, Ohio and whose whereabouts have been unknown for several years. She has in the past been an associate of various WUO support people.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Between August 2-19, 1971, DONNA WILLMOTT was observed in the presence of several known Weather Underground support individuals by representatives of the FBI. These individuals included JENNIFER DOHRN (sister of Weatherman fugitive BERNARDINE DOHRN), JEFFREY HAAS, DENNIS CUNNINGHAM, SUSAN WAYSDORF, and LAURA WHITEHORN, all believed to be currently involved in Weather Underground support.

During the course of an investigation to trace the flight of Dr. TIMOTHY LEARY from prison in California to Algeria in 1970, [redacted] Investigation at the Sheraton O'Hare Airport Hotel in Rosemont, Illinois in July, 1974 by SAs of the FBI disclosed that FADEM, who used the name HEATHER FLOYD, had telephoned number 608-255-1146 from the room she occupied during the time that she and LEARY were in Chicago. It was subsequently determined that this number was listed to 1230 East Dayton Street, Madison, Wisconsin which was the residence of WILLMOTT at the time. (September 22, 1970)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

DONNA JEAN WILLMOTT traveled under U.S. passport number K1640837 to Cuba with the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade to Cuba. She departed from Mexico City, Mexico via air to Havana on November 28, 1969. [redacted]

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B. Former WUO Adherents

Included in this subsection are inserts on former "underground" WUO members, WUO members who failed to submerge into the "underground" in early 1970, WUO support persons who have functioned so closely with the WUO that they themselves may be considered as "underground" functionaries from time to time, and certain more important members of the PFOC.*

It should also be noted that prior to their surrender in early 1976, underground WUO members CELESTE MAURINE MC CULLOUGH and JOHN RYTIS SKARDIS were in several European countries traveling under U.S. passports issued on false identifications. Their exact activities while abroad are unknown and it is not known if the couple had any contacts with representatives of unfriendly foreign powers while in Europe.

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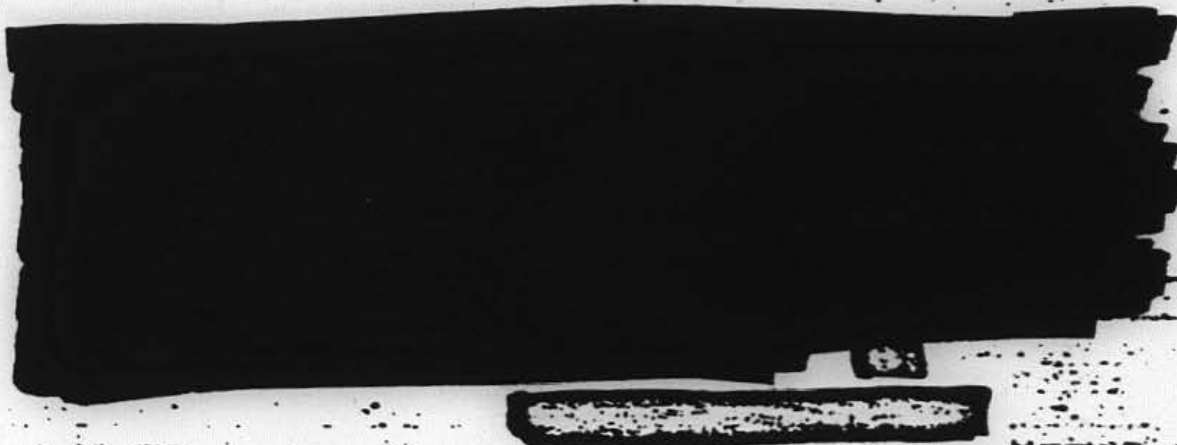
STEWART EDWARD ALBERT

STEWART ALBERT is a white male who was born in New York City on December 4, 1939. ALBERT, who lives with JUDITH HEMBLEN, has frequently associated with WUO support people and traveled to Algeria in association with JENNIFER DOHRN and BRIAN FLANAGAN to meet with Dr. TIMOTHY LEARY in 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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ALBERT was issued a United States passport on January 31, 1963, and indicated his intention to travel from New York (NY) for a period of eight months study and travel in Europe. (C)

(CG T-62, 6/23/64)

JUDITH HEMBLEN had departed for Algiers, Algeria, with STEW ALBERT via Canada to meet with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER for a period of three weeks.

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ALBERT visited Santiago, Chile, with JERRY RUBIN, from August 2 - September 24, 1971.

On September 9, 1975, KURT GROENWALD was observed by a Special Agent of the FBI departing 102 West 14th Street, New York City, accompanied by ELLEN RAY, JUDY HEMBLEN and STEWART ALBERT.

CHRISTOPHER LYNN BAKKE,
Aka "Kit"

"KIT" BAKKE is a white female who was born in Seattle, Washington, on December 23, 1946. She was arrested during the WUO sponsored "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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PIERRE JOSEPH BARTHEL

JOE BARTHEL is a white male who was born on September 8, 1945, in New York. BARTHEL was an active WUO member in 1969 and more recently has been active in the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee (PFOC) in the San Francisco area. He is presently one of the National Officers running the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

PIERRE BARTHEL is considered to be a member of the Weatherman faction of SDS.

BARTHEL was connected with the Weatherman faction of SDS in early 1970.

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

PIERRE BARTHEL returned to the United States from Cuba on February 12, 1970, where he participated in a contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. On February 17, 1970, BARTHEL held a press conference at the Diplomat Hotel, New York City, during which BARTHEL attacked the United States in general terms. ~~(C)~~

(CG T-58, 2/13/70)

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EDWARD J. BENEDICT,
Aka. "Corky"

"CORKY" BENEDICT is a white male who was born on November 4, 1936, in Ohio. BENEDICT, who was a WUO leader in Cincinnati, Ohio, during much of 1969, was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO's "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

On January 22-23, 1970, it was ascertained that BENEDICT had been a leader of the SDS Cincinnati, Ohio, Collective, until late 1969. Following the Flint War Council December 27-31, 1969, BENEDICT was "purged" from the WUO faction as an "obstructionist" and for lacking personal courage.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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ARLENE WILMA BERGMAN,
Aka Arlene Wilma Eisen,
Mrs. Lincoln Bergman

ARLENE BERGMAN is a white female who was born on November 4, 1942, in New York City. She is separated from her husband LINCOLN BERGMAN. ARLENE BERGMAN is employed as a college lecturer and has written numerous articles and a book entitled "Women of Vietnam." BERGMAN functioned as a part of the WUO underground in 1970 and more recently has been active in the PFOC, of which organization she is presently a national leader.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

An article appeared in the "Oakland Tribune" newspaper, Oakland, California, on October 6, 1974, which was captioned "U.S. Women Visit Vietnam," and bylined Tokyo:

> Two American women visited the Viet Cong areas in South Vietnam last month and discussed the role women play in the country, Hanoi's official Vietnam News Agency has reported.
>
> The report, monitored in Tokyo, said the women were Arlene Eisen Bergman and Margaret Randall. The report did not identify them further or give their home towns.
>
> Quoting the Viet Cong's Giai Phong Press Agency, VNA said the two women made the visit at the invitation of the South Vietnam Liberation Women's Union.
>
> It said they were warmly welcomed and talked with many people on 'the struggle of the American people, particularly women, for an end to military involvement and intervention by U.S. administration in the internal affairs of South Vietnam and to U.S. and to President Nguyen Van Thieu.'

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On January 27, 1975, ARLENE BERGMAN was observed by Special Agents of the FBI at Union Square, San Francisco, speaking to a group of a few hundred who had gathered to hear speeches on the second anniversary of the signing of the Paris peace agreement. She was the featured speaker,

her talk lasting about twenty minutes. Leaflets advertising the gathering listed her as a speaker, using the name "Arlene Eisen-Bergman, just returned from a month's visit in Vietnam." BERGMAN spoke on anti-American imperialism and involvement in Vietnam.

Following the speeches at Union Square, there was a march to the office of the South Vietnam Consul which resulted in a minor riot with several people arrested. BERGMAN was not among those arrested.

On April 25, 1975, ARLENE BERGMAN was arrested by the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD) and charged with "Trespass/to injure property." These charges were based on BERGMAN's participation in a sit-in at the Office of the Army, Field Operations Agency. This sit-in was held by a group calling themselves The Women's Committee to Implement the Paris Peace Agreement. Twenty women, including BERGMAN, entered the Army's Office and proceeded to sing, use the telephones, and generally disrupt the Army's business operation. All participants were arrested, among them some of the more influential radical women in the Bay Area.

On May 17, 1975, a meeting was held in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, between four representatives of the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and approximately 250 West Coast radicals. Those attending from the West Coast were specifically invited to the function as a result of their support for the North Vietnamese over the United States and support of revolutionary struggles in general. The Steering Committee for the function was composed of seven women and chaired by ARLENE EISEN-BERGMAN.

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In August, 1975, The People's Press, San Francisco, published a special one-issue newspaper entitled "Viet Nam - Whose Victory? Whose Defeat?" Included in this issue is an article which encompassed three-fourths of the issue "Liberation, the South Vietnamese People Celebrate Complete Independence." This article is bylined "Arlene Eisen Bergman - May 27, 1975." Included in this article by BERGMAN are the following statements:

> After a nine year war, the Vietnamese people won independence from France. The U.S. tried to sabotage this victory by creating the Diem regime in the South, a repressive government which was never popular with the South Vietnamese people.

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Saigon became a cracked mirror image of the worst of U.S. culture: a haven forpimps, dope pushers, Honda-riding cowboys, and a series of corrupt administrations bought by U.S. Dollars.

Now in Saigon, under the political administration of the PRG, the city is returning to normal.

For twenty years, the U.S. government has justified U.S. aggression in Vietnam with stories about North Vietnamese invasion, bloodbaths, and revenge. The publication of the Pentagon papers gives us the opportunity to find the origin of these horror stories. There, we can read memos by generals and top Pentagon and State Department officials boasting about their psychological warfare campaigns systematically using 'dirty tricks' and lies. This psychological warfare is now designed to convince the world that those Vietnamese who worked for the U.S. or Saigon side are in great danger.

After twenty years of brainwashing by U.S. psychological warfare, people will have the opportunity to learn about the real accomplishments of the PRG in the areas that have been liberated for a long time. They will also learn more about the way the socialist society of the North serves the people.

His (Ho Chi Minh) teaching, 'Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom' symbolized the poeples' determination and will to defeat U.S. imperialism.

On Friday, April 30, 1976, there was a benefit held for the celebration of Ho Chi Minh's 86th birthday and celebration of the one year anniversary of the unification of Vietnam. The $2.50 donation for admission was being sent for the reconstruction of Vietnam. The benefit was held at Glide Memorial Church, 330 Ellis Street, San Francisco. There were approximately 600 people in attendance and ARLENE BERGMAN and LINCOLN BERGMAN were among them.

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DR. ALAN BERKMAN, MD

Dr. BERKMAN is a white male who was born on September 4, 1945, in Brooklyn, New York. BERKAMN is active in the PFOC in the New York area and was until recently one of the national leaders of that organization.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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MARSHALL PERRY BERZON

BERZON is a white male who was born on December 25, 1950, in Newark, New Jersey. BERZON was considered to be a WUO member in Massachusetts in 1969 and continued his WUO contacts in later years.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

In November, 1969, it was reported that MARSHALL BERZON, who was a student at Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont, was leaving the college in company with five other students for the purpose of performing assignments with various SDS Regional Headquarters.

As of 1970 MARSHALL BERZON resided at 801 East Elizabeth Avenue, Newark, New Jersey, and in June, 1970, BERZON indicated to other "movement members" that he had not been doing much in connection with the "movement" lately but that he still believes in violence. He further commented that blowing up the New York police station by "our brothers and sisters" "has got to be the greatest action ever."

The records of the Cambridge, Massachusetts, District Court, Probation Office, revealed MARSHALL PERRY BERZON, who was born December 25, 1950, at Newark, New Jersey, was arrested by the Cambridge Police Department on November 17, 1969, and charged with the offense of Conspiracy to Commit Murder. BERZON, along with other individuals who were identified as Weatherman, was arrested for firing rifle shots into the Cambridge Police Department. On November 28, 1969, no probable cause was found and the charge was dismissed. The records reflect that at the time of the arrest BERZON listed an address of 509 Franklin Street, Cambridge. At the time of his arrest a Japanese brand rifle, name unknown, Serial #28806, with a bayonet was found at this address.

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TOP SECRET

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the PASSPORT Office, United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C., made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which according to the USDS departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. MARSHALL PERRY BERZON's name appears on this list.

A copy of the Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, student newspaper "It's Alright Ma" dated March 18, 1970, reflects an article entitled "Venceremos." This article indicates that on February 12, 1970, the "Luis Arcos Bergnes," a ship of Cuban registry, sailed from St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, for Cuba and that two ex-Goddard College students, MARSHALL BERZON and TOM COOK, four enrolled students MARTHA TROLIN, PAUL MILLER, JANET SCHNEIDER and MARC FLIEGELMAN, along with JOE GIRFFITH, 13 year old son of PAT GRIFFITH, a faculty member, were among the 499 American members of the Second Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade aboard the ship. The article further indicated the group will return to the United States at the end of April (1970).

On April 29, 1970, The Passport Office, USDS, advised that MARSHALL PERRY BERZON arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, at approximately 8:00 AM on April 28, 1970, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes." A notation was made that BERZON was a member of the Venceremos Brigade. Upon his return to the United States, BERZON provided his current address as Avenue America Miranda 1102B, Las Lomas, Puerto Rico.

TOP SECRET

DANA HOPE BIBERMAN

DANA BIBERMAN is a white female who was born on February 24, 1951, in Philadelphia Pennsylvania. Active in SDS chapter in New York Columbia University in 1968 and 1969. BIBERMAN has more recently been active in the PFOC in New York.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

During early October 1969, BIBERMAN was identified as being a member of the WUO.

 B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 16, 1975, BIBERMAN traveled to Cuba with the Eighth Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade in company with 125 - 135 others.

 B1

Miscellaneous Travel

It was learned on December 15, 1975, that BIBERMAN had been in Puerto Rico and would return on that date if she had not already returned on December 14th.

 B1

NANCY BIBERMAN

NANCY BIBERMAN is a white female who was born on February 22, 1948, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. She is the sister of DANA BIBERMAN who has been active in the New York chapter of PFOC. NANCY BIBERMAN was active in the Columbia University chapter of SDS.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

NANCY BIBERMAN was an active leader of the SDS chapter at Columbia University in New York until her graduation from that college in June, 1969.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NANCY BIBERMAN was a part of the SDS group that traveled to Cuba during the period of August 26 - September 17, 1968.

B1

On January 8, 1969, during a SDS Commentary Series broadcast over New York radio station WBAI-FM (99.5 on the dial), announcer NICK FREUDENBERG of the New York SDS Regional Staff, introduced NANCY BIBERMAN of Columbia University SDS as one of the SDS people, including himself, who had spent a month in Cuba touring the country in the fall of 1968.

TOP SECRET

NEAL BIRNBAUM

NEAL BIRNBAUM is a white male who was born in Monterey, California, on December 25, 1944. He was active in handling the legal defense of individuals arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and was himself arrested during these confrontations with Chicago Police.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

On December 16, 1969, NEAL BIRNBAUM was heard on an evening broadcast over Radio Havana making the following statement:

> My name is Neal Birnbaum. I am also from Boston and I want to say that the same struggles that the Cubans are fighting here against the United States is the struggle that we will fight when we get back to the United States and helping the Cubans in harvesting the sugar cane is (unintelligible) against the United States.

TOP SECRET

DIANA BLOCK

DIANA BLOCK is a white female who was born on May 16, 1949, in New York, New York. She is the National Treasurer for the PFOC and is active in the San Francisco PFOC chapter.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

JEFFREY DAVID BLUM

JEFF BLUM is a white male who was born on December 7, 1946, in Baltimore, Maryland. BLUM was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

As of September, 1969, JEFF BLUM was considered one of the activists of the Chicago Regional, Weatherman Faction SDS.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On July 26, 1971, passport records at the United States Department of State (USDS), Washington, D.C. reflected that JEFFREY BLUM was issued passport [illegible] on May 2, 1968, in Chicago, Illinois, and listed his proposed travel as England, France, West Germany, Belgium, Netherlands, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Yugoslavia, Italy, Hungary, Romania, Austria, Czechoslovakia and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. BLUM stated he planned to travel to these countries via Trans Globe Airways about June 14, 1968.

B1

"Berkeley Tribe" is a new left newspaper published in Berkeley, California.

B1

TOP SECRET

ROBERT GAYLORD BURLINGHAM,
Aka Arlo Jacobs

BURLINGHAM is a white male who was born on March 25, 1946, in New York, New York. He was highly active in the WUO during its early existence and functioned in the underground in 1970. He was arrested during the WUO sponsored "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago in October, 1969. During his time in the WUO he often utilized the name "Arlo Jacobs."

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

"The National Observer," a national weekly newspaper in its edition of December 28, 1973, contained an article entitled "Yesterdays Weathermen--They're No Longer Scaring 'Honky Amerika.'" The article containdd an interview with ROBERT BURLINGHAM who was characterized as a former member of the Detroit 15, the alleged "Weather Bureau" of Weathermen indicted in July, 1970, on charges of conspiring to blow up military installations, police stations, educational facilities and various public buildings. The indictment against BURLINGHAM was subsequently dismissed.

The article stated that in 1968 while in France as a Fulbright Scholar, BURLINGHAM participated in the Paris street riots and came home convinced that taking his convictions to the streets was the fastest way to hasten the revolution. His convictions were reinforced by a summer in Cuba (1969), meeting with National Liberation Front, North Vietnamese, and Cuban revolutionaries. He acted on his convictions during the "Four Days of Rage" that fall in Chicago, Illinois.

According to the "National Observer" article, when Weatherman leaders decided to go underground in the late winter of 1969, BURLINGHAM decided not to go underground but that does not mean that he disavows his Weatherman past. BURLINGHAM said "I support what the Weather underground has done--the bombings," and he continues to believe that violence must accompany the kind of radical social change that he advocates.

reported that JACOBS was in fact a part of the early underground operation in early 1970. "Bringing Down America," Arlington House Publishers, New Rochelle, New York, by LARRY GRATHWOHL, 1976.)

A paperback book published by Grove Press, Inc., New York, New York, was purchased by Special Agents of the FBI. This book entitled "Fidel Castro Speaks" contains a selection of speeches by CASTRO, which as noted on the back cover "most clearly defines the Cuban 'Road to Communism.'" The back cover adds that the speeches range from on counter-revolution given by CASTRO on December 5, 1969, to his July, 1968, speech and these selections are "designed to reveal CASTRO's developing revolutionary thinking." Acknowledgements by the book's editors lists ARLO JACOBS as among those who helped in putting the book together.

B1

(NOTE: Fellow travelers to Cuba with BURLINGHAM included such leading WUO functionaries as BERNARDINE DOHRN, PETER CLAPP, ELEANOR RASKIN, DIANA OUGHTON and TED GOLD. The former three are presently functioning in the underground and the latter two were killed in the explosion of a WUO bomb factory in New York in early 1970.)

TOP SECRET

63

DAVID IRA CAMP

CAMP is a white male who was born on July 27, 1949, in Reading, Pennsylvania. He was an employee of the WUO dominated SDS National Office during late 1969 and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. He attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

DAVID I. CAMP was a member of the Second Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade when returned to the United States from Cuba via Canada on April 28, 1970. (C)

GEORGE ALEXANDER CAVALLETTO, JR.

GEORGE CAVALLETTO is a white male who was born on May 25, 1938, at Bronx, New York. He is married to SHEILA PATRICIA RYAN. CAVALLETTO attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting in December, 1969.

SDS/WUO Affiliation

CAVALLETTO attended the WUO "Flint,Michigan War Council" meeting held in December, 1969.

(Testimony of DR. WILLYAM R. KINTNER, before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, June 18, 1976. KINTNER indicated this information emanated from records of the Flint, Michigan Police Department.)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

(CG T-18, 7/69)

B1

In the October 15, 1969, issue of "Combat" magazine it was reported that in an article written by CAVALLETTO to Underground Newspaper Editors, he had described the propagandist as important to the soldier. He explained in the Viet Cong field that propaganda is of the highest importance in the revolutionary struggle.

TOP SECRET

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TOP SECRET

SHEILA PATRICIA CAVALLETTO,
Aka. Sheila Ryan

PATRICIA CAVALLETTO is a white female who was born on March 1, 1945, in Oxnard, California. She was active in the SDS in 1968-1969 and more recently has been active in the PFOC. She is married to GEORGE ALEXANDER CAVALLETTO, JR.

SDS/WUO Affiliation

SHEILA RYAN attended the SDS National Convention in Chicago on June 18, 1969.

B1

The first meeting of the Palestine Solidarity Committee was held in New York on January 20, 1976, amidst tight security. Members of the PFOC participated in this meeting and provided some of the security guards. The main speaker of the session was SHAFIK AL HOUT of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Lebanon. Others answering questions during the meeting were BASIL AD AQL, a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization to the United Nations and YASSER ABD AR RABDOU who is a member of the Palestine Léberation Organization Executive Committee and head of the Palestine Liberation Organization Information Department.

(Testimony of DR. WILLIAM R. KINTNER, Before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee ... 1976)

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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TOP SECRET

66

"The Washington Free Press," a Washington "hippie" newspaper, in the issue dated March 27, 1968, contained an article entitled "Cuba" by SHEILA RYAN. The following note was printed beneath the title:

> I have just returned from a trip to Cuba with 20 people from the Students for a Democratic Society. We traveled throughout much of Cuba in an East German bus visiting schools, in farms and factories where arrangements had been made by our Cuban guides or stop on impulse to chat with men harvesting sugar cane, a peasant family, a group of students. We were free to romp where he pleased and spent a substantial portion of our time away from our guides, talking to many who supported the revolution, and some few who opposed it.

b1

TOP SECRET

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WILLIAM ALEXANDER CLEVELAND

WILLIAM CLEVELAND is a white male who was born on November 23, 1951 in Cleveland, Ohio. CLEVELAND was active in WUO affairs in Ohio in 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

WILLIAM CLEVELAND attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

b1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

b1

TOP SECRET

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TOP SECRET

KENNETH CLOKE
(Also see John Fuerst)

KEN CLOKE is a white male who was born on May 18, 1941, in San Francisco, California. A long-time SDS activist in the mid-late 1960s CLOKE has directly been involved with the WUO since its submergence into the underground. CLOKE is an attorney by profession and is an active member of the National Lawyers Guild.

WUO Affiliations

Alleged Contact with BERNARDINE DOHRN

[redacted] advised that during the summer of 1971 BERNARDINE DOHRN had been in Venice, California, and according to [redacted] DOHRN had been in contact with CLOKE.

TOP SECRET

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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CLOKE attended an international anti-war meeting in Nagoya, Japan, on August 11, 1968. During the meeting CLOKE delivered an address wherein he stated "If a revolution is to occur in the United States, it will most likely be started by the young American workers who are now in Vietnam. In the U.S., workers are aiding North Vietnam. I, myself, joined the (SDS) to engage in this activity...as its mission, our (SDS) aims at dismantling of the industrial structure and abolition of the wage-labor system and at world revolution..."

(CG T-101, 11/19/68)

KENNETH CLOKE, U.S. Passport #J-274785, departed Madrid for Havana, Cuba, via Cubana Flight #471 on January 21, 1973. CLOKE arrived in Madrid from Havana on February 3, 1973. CLOKE was previously issued passports on December 5, 1961, March 11, 1965 and April 4, 1968.
(CG T-62, 2/73)

On March 27, 1969, it was ascertained that the regional SDS leaders and activists in Los Angeles were JAMES FITE, SHARON FITE, JOHN JOHNSON and KENNETH CLOKE who is also Executive Secretary for the National Lawyers Guild.

NADINE MARSHA COHEN

NADINE COHEN is a white female who was born on July 10, 1949. COHEN was an active member of the SDS chapter at Ithaca College in 1969 and more recently has been active in the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

COHEN was a member of the SDS chapter at Ithaca College, Ithaca, New York.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

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TOP SECRET

LOU COLE,
Aka Lewis Cole

LOU COLE is a white male who was born on May 25, 1946, in New York, New York. One of the leaders of the SDS riots at Columbia University in New York in 1968, COLE continued his active membership in the Columbia SDS chapter well into 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

In June, 1968, it was learned that LEWIS COLE had traveled to Frankfurt, Germany, in June, 1968. He also traveled to the Netherlands, Spain and France and met with student leaders in these countries. He also met with Socialist Party members in France. (C)

(CG T-108, 6/17/68)

The June 14, 1968, issue of the "New York Times," a New York daily newspaper, carried an article captioned "Student Leaders on British TV" on page two of the first section. In this article it was indicated that LOU COLE of the Columbia University SDS had met with student leaders from ten European countries. Mention was made of a rally to be held to show solidarity for the unification of student groups from all over the world.

TOP SECRET

THOMAS BRAINERD COOK

THOMAS COOK is a white male who was born on June 2, 1946, in St. Johnsbury, Vermont. He was active in the WUO in Massachusetts in 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

THOMAS COOK was a member of the Weatherman Faction of SDS in Cambridge, Massachusetts as of November, 1969.

The records of the Cambridge District Court, Probation Office, as reflected on January 20, 1970, indicate THOMAS BRAINERD COOK, a student at Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont, who was born on June 2, 1946, was arrested by the Cambridge Police Department on November 17, 1969, and charged with the offense of Conspiracy to Commit Murder. COOK, along with other individuals who were identified as Weatherman, was arrested for firing rifle shots into the Cambridge Police Department. On November 28, 1969, no probable cause was found and the charge dismissed. The records further reflect that at the time of the arrest, COOK listed an address of 507 Franklin Street, Cambridge.

COOK had previously been identified as purchasing in Vermont on September 29, 1969, a Charter Arms Revolver, .38 caliber, serial #50304; a Radom Model P.359mm gun, serial #L2133; a Colt Model Commander, .38 caliber, serial #VT 13510; Echasa Model MAB, .32 caliber, serial #37922; and a Wards Westernfield 16-gauge shotgun, serial #Y80091.

On June 8, 1970, an individual, later positively identified as THOMAS BRAINERD COOK, attempted to purchase dynamite from the New England Explosives Corporation, 249 Washington Street, Keene, New Hampshire. COOK did not appear to know anything about dynamite as he attempted to buy "ditching" dynamite for the reported purpose of blowing up stumps on his land. Ditching dynamite is primarily used by farmers in digging ditches and is not to be used for stump removal.

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the Passport Office, USDS, Washington, D.C., made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes" which, according to the USDS, departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. THOMAS BRAINERD COOK's name appears on this list. COOK is further described by the Passport Office, USDS, as being born [illegible] 1946, at St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and the holder of United States Passport [illegible]

On April 29, 1970, the Passport office, USDS, advised that THOMAS BRAINERD COOK arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, at approximately 8:00 AM on April 28, 1970, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes." A notation was made that COOK was a member of the Venceremos Brigade. Upon his return to the United States, COOK provided his current address as St. John's Street, Johnson, Vermont.

An article appeared in the May 14, 1970, edition of the "Commentator," which is the school newspaper of Johnson State College, concerning TOM COOK's trip to Cuba. In the article on page one entitled "COOKE SPEAKS," it was indicated that COOK felt that on the basis of movies shown and discussions held with the Vietnamese while he was in Cuba, the Americans were losing the war in Vietnam. The article continued the reason COOK felt this was that the war is a "People's War" and the "people" are fighting it on their own territory. COOK is quoted as stating the slogan "Those pigs in the White House can put a man on the moon but they can never put a man in Hanoi" is a well known Vietnamese slogan. The article further states that COOK spoke of Cuba's education system. He pointed out that Cuban Universities do not give degrees. The student goes to school until the teacher feels he has learned enough so that he can pass on his knowledge to others. On a visit to an elementary school he was amazed by the academic interest shown by the students and asked a teacher how discipline problems were dealt with. Her reply was "we don't have such problems."

CJO CJO ~~TOP SECRET~~

EDITH GERREL CRICHTON,
Aka. Barbara Bakar

EDITH CRICHTON is a white female who was born on September 1, 1947, in Syracuse, New York. CRICHTON was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO-PFOC Affiliation

On June 15, 1970 [redacted] Washington, D.C., advised EDITH CRICHTON was a member of the SDS Weatherman faction in the fall of 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[redacted] EDITH GERREL CRICHTON advised that in May, 1970 [redacted] she had traveled to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade. [redacted] advised she was full of enthusiasm and praise for the Cuban government and for the way of life under the Cuban communist system. EDITH CRICHTON also stated that the SDS and the Weatherman faction had broken up. She also said she was opposed to the use of explosives as they had been used in New York City, but believed the time for revolution in the United States was "now."

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MONA HELEN CUNNINGHAM,
Aka. Mona Helen Mellis

MONA CUNNINGHAM is a white female who was born on December 17, 1934, at New York, New York. She is separated from her husband, attorney DENNIS DICKSON CUNNINGHAM. MONA CUNNINGHAM has been involved with the WUO underground on several occasions during its existence and has apparently been in contact with WUO fugitives. She attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

TOP SECRET

11

JOHN WILLARD DAVIS

JOHN DAVIS is a white male who was born on July 20, 1949, in Takoma Park, Maryland. DAVIS was an active member of the SDS in Ohio and elected to the nine man Provisionary Revolutionary Staff controlling SDS affairs in the area in mid-1969. DAVIS submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

During the Midwest Regional Conference in Akron, Ohio, from July 18-20, 1969, the SDS created a "Provisionary Revolutionary Staff" to replace the Midwest Regional Staff. JOHN DAVIS was selected as one of the nine people on this staff.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The "Washington Post," a daily Washington, D.C., newspaper, contained an article on September 21, 1968, captioned "U.S. War Foes Meet With Hanoi Group" which describes the trip of 28 American war foes who traveled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front to discuss strategy on U.S. campuses. The meeting was held in Budapest September 5-9, 1968. VERNON GRIZZARD, one of the travelers who was described as being a former vice president of SDS, was indicated to have stated that the "...North Vietnamese give no directions for activities in the United States, but were pleased and interested in 'our' plans."

On September 23, 1968, it was ascertained that JOHN DAVIS was one of 20 travelers who departed New York for Budapest, Hungary, on September 3, 1968. The group subsequently departed Budapest for Paris, France, on September 10, 1968, and departed Paris en route to New York on September 23, 1968.

MICHAEL E. DEUTSCH

MIKE DEUTSCH is a white male who was born on May 9, 1945, in Chicago, Illinois. An attorney by profession DEUTSCH has represented such apprehended or surrendered WUO members as WILLIAM WILLET, LEONARD HANDLESMAN and DANIEL HOWARD COHEN. More recently he has been an active member of the PFOC chapter in Chicago.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

(CG T-18, 8/16/72)

TOP SECRET

JOHN DEWIND

JOHN DEWIND is a white male who was born on August 2, 1948, in New York, New York. DEWIND was active in the WUO in the early 1970s.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

DEWIND was an active member of the WUO in New York City and resided in a WUO commune during February, 1970.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JOHN DEWIND was among the members of the Second Contingent of the Venceremos Brigade that arrived in Canada from Cuba via ship during April, 1970. DEWIND returned to the U.S. through Calais, Maine, on April 28, 1970.

(CG T- 88 5/2/70)

80

MARC KAY DINSMORE

MARC DINSMORE is a white male who was born on May 13, 19[illegible], in Washington, D.C. DINSMORE was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" at [illegible], 19[illegible].

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On November 18, 1969, DINSMORE identified himself as being a representative of the Finance Committee of the [illegible] Brigade.

MARC DINSMORE visited his father in Maryland on [illegible] 5, 19[illegible], at which time he told him he had wanted to travel to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade, however, could not do so because he was apparently allergic to one of the necessary [illegible].

~~TOP SECRET~~

JENNIFER ELLEN DOHRN,
Aka. Jennifer Melendez,
Mrs. Mickey Melendez,
Jennifer Ellen Ohrnstein

JENNIFER DOHRN is a white female who was born on November 30, 1944, in Chicago, Illinois. She is the sister of WUO leader BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN and is presently one of the national leaders of the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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~~TOP SECRET~~

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TOP SECRET

DIANNE DONGHI, Aka.
Dianne Marie Spiegel,
Dianne Donghi Oberman,
Dionne Donghi

DONGHI is a white female who was born on February 21, 1949, in Neville-Sur-Sein, France. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969. DONGHI submerged into the WUO underground in early 1970, however, was apprehended by the New York FBI Office during April, 1970.

WUO/FFOC Affiliation

DONGHI was an active member of the Columbia University SDS Chapter and was connected with the New York SDS.

b1

DONGHI was a member of the Weatherman Collective, 2 West Hollister Street, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Foreign Travels and/or Contacts

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TOP SECRET

83

Dr. DOROTHY JANE DUBE, MD.

DOROTHY DUBE is a white female who was born on November 29, 1948, in Tuscaloosa, Alabama. Long associated with the radical "left," DUBE befriended underground WUO member BARRY PHILLIP STEIN in 1970 and has more recently been marginally involved in the PFOC. DUBE is a close friend of KARLETON ARMSTRONG, who is currently incarcerated in Wisconsin State Prison for the 1970 bombing of the University of Wisconsin, Army Mathematics Research Center, in Madison, Wisconsin, during which explosion a college student was killed.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The "Milwaukee Sentinel," a daily Milwaukee newspaper, printed an article in the February 16, 1970, edition entitled "Cuban Harvest Worker Calls for Revolution." The article quoted DOROTHY DUBE as stating "Our purpose now is to spread revolution in this country. Of course, we didn't want to come back, but we did anyway. The thing about the Cuban revolution is that when you saw something good about Cuba, you wanted to come back to the United States and make revolution here." When asked how the revolution will be spread in this country, she said "What we do and what the movement does will answer that question."

TOP SECRET

ROBERT EUGENE DUGGAN

ROBERT DUGGAN is a white male who was born on March 31, 1939, in Los Angeles, California. Active in SDS, DUGGAN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On November 29, 1962, DUGGAN was arrested by Costa Rican authorities and charged as an agent of international communism for responsibility for riots in Costa Rica, November 24, 1962. He was subsequently deported to the U.S.

((CG T-120, 12/3-6/62)

DUGGAN attended the Hemispheric Conference to end the war in Vietnam at Montreal, Canada, from November 28 to Decemberl, 1968. This conference was composed of Communist Party members from North and South America.

B1

In December, 1973, DUGGAN was arrested in Mexico after contacting Mexican radicals and revolutionaries.

85

ANDREA BOROFF EAGAN

EAGAN is a white female who was born on July 26, 1943, in New York, New York. She was a member of the WUO in New York in 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

ANDREA EAGAN was a member of the SDS-WUO faction in New York from September through November, 1969.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

RICHARD MATHES EAGAN

EAGAN is a white male who was born on January 3, 1942, in Brooklyn, New York. He was a WUO member in New York in 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

RICHARD EAGAN was a member of the SDS-WUO faction in New York from September through November, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

87

ALLEN ROBERT EMKIN

ALLEN EMKIN is a white male who was born on December 29, 1947. Active in SDS in the Los Angeles area, evidence exists that EMKIN was involved with WUO underground member JOHN ALLEN FUERST in 1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

EMKIN attended SDS meetings in Los Angeles, California, in 1969.

- B1

JOHN ALLEN FUERST, a Weatherman fugitive, under the name of WILLIAM ALLEN FRIEDMAN, purchased 50 pounds of dynamite in Tucson, Arizona, on May 4, 1970, and transported it to Venice, California, in a vehicle owned by TERRI ANN VOLPIN. When Special Agents of the FBI attempted to contact VOLPIN, EMKIN was present.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

EMKIN was in the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade and was in Cuba in 1970.

48

HOWARD JOEL EMMER

HOWIE EMMER is a white male who was born on December 24, 1946, in Cleveland, Ohio. A SDS leader at Kent State University in 1968, EMMER was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently EMMER occupied a national leadership position with the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On September 21, 1968, it was determined that HOWARD EMMER was one of a group of 20 persons who reportedly traveled at a group rate to Budapest, Hungary, departing New York City September 3, 1968, with arrangements and fares paid through the SDS, New York City. This group reportedly met with North Vietnamese representatives and those of the National Liberation Front.

The "Washington Post," a daily Washington, D.C., newspaper, issue of September 21, 1968, contains an item captioned "U.S. War Foes Meet with Hanoi Group," which states that a group of 28 American war foes traveled to Hungary to meet with representatives of North Vietnam and National Liberation Front to discuss strategy on U.S. campuses.

According to the article, the meeting reportedly was held in Budapest, September 5-9, 1968, and was organized in the U.S. by DAVID DELLINGER, head of the National Mobilization Committee and coalition of anti-war advocates. The article stated that nine of the above-mentioned 28 individuals took part in demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention.

TOP SECRET

MELODY KAY ERMACHILD,
Aka. Melody Ayers, Melody
Chavis, Melody Thonson,
Karen Joyce Krogstad,
Melody Kilian

MELODY ERMACHILD is a white female who was born on September 15, 1943, in San Antonio, Texas. Formerly "married" to RICHARD JAMES AYERS, a fugitive member of the WUO and the brother of WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS, one of the leaders of the WUO, MELODY resided in Canada during 1969 and was involved in radical activities in that country. In 1970-1971 she resided in the Northwestern U.S. and was a part of an underground WUO "foco" which was involved in several bombings. More recently she has been highly active in the PFOC in the San Francisco area.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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TOP SECRET

TOP SECRET

LINDA SUE EVANS

LINDA EVANS is a white female who was born on May 11, 1947, in Fort Dodge, Iowa. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and was present at the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. Considered a leader of the WUO, EVANS submerged into the underground in early 1970, however, was arrested by the FBI in New York on April 15, 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[redacted], it was determined that LINDA EVANS, a member of the National Interim Committee of the WUO-dominated SDS organization, had been selected by the SDS National Office to represent SDS in negotiations with the North Vietnamese for the release of three American prisoners of war. Although these negotiations were neither initiated nor organized by SDS, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam had apparently requested SDS participation. [redacted]

[redacted]

On July 15, 1969, EVANS advised that a press conference was held at John F. Kennedy Airport, New York City, during the evening of July 15, 1969. One of the persons identified as going to North Vietnam to arrange for the release of prisoners was LINDA EVANS. EVANS read a statement indicating that SDS supported oppressed people throughout the world and supports the National Liberation Front's fight for freedom. The delegation departed that same evening for Paris, France.

On August 7, 1969, Special Agents of the FBI observed the arrival of seven of the delegates that had participated in the release of prisoners of war (POWs) and observed the arrival of the released POWs. All arrived via Trans World Airlines Flight 741. A brief press conference was held by released prisoners. A press conference was held at the International Arrivals Building by the peace delegation, and LINDA EVANS, who was described as a national office of SDS, stated SDS is on the side of North Vietnam and the National Liberation Front. She called the U.S. the aggressor, and equated North Vietnamese youths fighting the U.S. with American youths in this country fighting U.S. policies. She called for a mass demonstration October 11, 1969, in Chicago, Illinois.

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An article captioned "Central Park-In - New York March Protests War" appeared on page three, issue August 11, 1969, of the "State News," official Michigan State University (MSU) student newspaper published at East Lansing, Michigan, and is in part as follows:

> New York - More than 2500 demonstrators marched up Seventh Avenue to Central Park to protest the war in Vietnam. The demonstration marked the 24th anniversary of the dropping of an atomic bomb on Nagasaki, Japan. Linda Evans, former MSU student, and a member of the East Lansing chapter of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) spoke to the crowd about her recent trip to Hanoi. Miss Evans was part of a delegation sent to escort American prisoners of war back to the United States.
>
> 'Vietnam has the most devastating suffering in the world,' she said. 'There are whole cities razed to the ground. They feel no hate for Americans - just our leaders... Believe me I was there. The Vietnamese are winning and will continue to fight for 40 years.'

On August 11, 1969, a meeting of SDS was held at St. Joseph's Episcopal Church, Detroit, Michigan, at which time LINDA EVANS spoke regarding her friendly reception in North Vietnam recently. EVANS voiced her admiration for the North Vietnamese people and explained the basic communist structure of that country. EVANS spoke in opposition to the American propaganda program against the North Vietnamese.

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On August 19, 1969, the SDS Summer Project held a meeting at St. Joseph's Episcopal Church in Detroit and LINDA EVANS addressed the attendees with a speech about her North Vietnam trip. She spoke on the decentralization of factories, the coalition government, the extremely humane treatment given to captured American GIs and the effectiveness of American bombing in North Vietnam. EVANS spoke of the willingness of North Vietnamese women and boys to bear arms. She also commented on the ability of the North Vietnamese to utilize the inside of a large mountain situated near the demilitarized zone as a stable area to produce dyes.

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The August 21-September 3, 1969, and the September 4-17, 1969, editions of "The Fifth Estate," a self-described underground newspaper published at Detroit, contained a two-part article entitled "Motor City Sister in North Vietnam" written by LINDA EVANS. The bulk of the articles is devoted to EVANS' description of her trip and of the Vietnamese country. EVANS concluded her article with the following statements:

> ...So, there is one alternative left for Nixon, and that is total withdrawal. This is clearly the only basis for free elections in South Vietnam. Nixon's proposal of having elections while American troops are still there is clearly absurd. Immediate withdrawal is what the Vietnamese define as total victory. This is what we are demanding in the National Action that SDS has called on October 8-11 in Chicago. To show our complete support and solidarity with the NLF, the PRG, and with the Vietnamese people, to demand the total and immediate withdrawal of all occupation forces not only from Vietnam, but from the black and brown colonies within the U.S., from all foreign countries, from the schools. We're demanding that Huey Newton and all political prisoners be immediately freed. We are expressing support and solidarity with the Conspiracy 8, and support of GI rebellions, all over the country, and especially in Vietnam.
>
> Through the history of the peace movement in this country, we have begun to understand that the peaceful demonstrations and marches that we've had are not enough. The rulers of America have not been affected by our protest, or by our demonstrations, or by our anger. The time has come that they must not be allowed to have peace in this country while the war in Vietnam and while our wars of American aggression continue. By our passivity, by our occasional involvement in some kind of protest against the war, we allow the Vietnamese people to be slaughtered. We allow their country to be devastated. What we have to understand is that this is not some kind of abstract issue that doesn't affect American

people. We're directly responsible for letting this war continue. And it is our responsibility to join the struggle of the Vietnamese people to help them in their fight by opening another battle front here. We should bring the war home to America.

During the SDS National Conference held in Cleveland, Ohio, August 29-September 1, 1969, LINDA EVANS gave a speech on August 29 concerning her recent trip to Hanoi and Vietnam. At one point in her speech, EVANS stated that she was shown an anti-aircraft gun used by Viet Cong women, and she cradled it in her arms and wished an American plane would fly over. EVANS talked about the economy of Vietnam and concluded her speech with an emotional speech about being a communist.

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MARIAN RITA FEINBERG

MARIAN FEINBERG is a white female who was born on September 16, 1948, in Newark, New Jersey. She was active in the WUO in Massachusetts in 1969-1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARIAN RITA FEINBERG had been a member of the Cambridge, Massachusetts Weatherman group but as of about November, 1970, she had seemingly ceased such activity.

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The "Boston Globe," a daily newspaper published in Boston, Massachusetts, in its November 19, 1969, edition carried an article reporting that 23 Weathermen, a faction of SDS, pleaded innocent to charges involving conspiracy to commit murder in connection with a sniper attack on Cambridge (Massachusetts) Police Headquarters on November 8, 1969. When the 23 individuals were arrested, four rifles, one shotgun, one sheathed bayonet and hudnreds of rounds of ammunition were seized. Among those arrested on the raid of a Cambridge residence was MARIAN FEINBERG, age 21.

The charges against FEINBERG were later dismissed for lack of probable cause.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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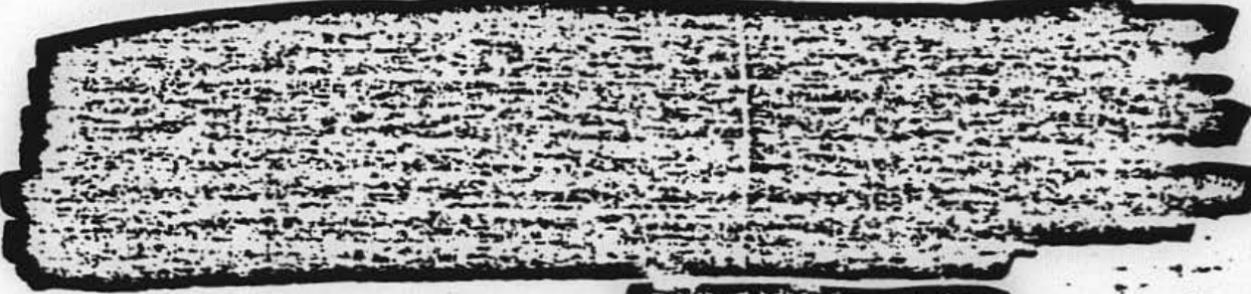
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STEPHEN DAVID FITCH

STEVE FITCH is a white male who was born on January 1, 1952, at Lansing, Michigan. He was active in SDS in Michigan and was involved in the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

FITCH admitted during interview or February 20, 1974, that he traveled to Cuba with the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade during February, 1970. He traveled to and from Cuba on a Cuban ship in company with approximately 400-500 people.

TOP SECRET

BRIAN DONAL FLANAGAN

BRIAN FLANAGAN is a white male who was born on October 20, 1946, in New York City, New York. FLANAGAN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago, however, the charges against him were later dropped. More recently he has been active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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On October 20, 1970, a representative of another intelligence gathering agency functioning in the Chicago area reported receipt of information that BRIAN FLANAGAN was in Algeria meeting with exiled Black Panther Party leader ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

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BRIAN FLANAGAN met in Algeria with JENNIFER DOHRN, STEWART ALBERT and JERRY RUBIN.

FLANAGAN was arrested by Scotland Yard operatives in Belfast, Ireland, for "not being conducive to the public good" and later released.

("Sunday News", New York City, 11/15/70)

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On June 30, 1971, REINHARD WOLFF was identified as a scientific assistant at the Institute for Sociology and assistant professor for Marxist Political Economics at the Berlin Pedagogical High School.

MARC LEE FLIEGELMAN

FLIEGELMAN is the brother of RONALD DAVID FLIEGELMAN, who has been an underground member of the WUO since early 1970. FLIEGELMAN is a white male who was born on June 16, 1950, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. FLEIGELMAN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago in October, 1969. More recently he has been involved in the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARC FLIÉGELMAN is the brother of RONALD DÁVID FLIEGELMAN (a member of the WUO whose whereabouts have been unknown since he submerged into the underground in early 1970). He is also a close associate of RUSSELL TODD NEUFELD, THOMAS B. COOK and other WUO affiliated people at Goddard College in Plainfield, Vermont.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the Passport Office, USDS, Washington, D.C., made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which according to the USDS departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. MARC LEE FLIEGELMAN's name appeared on this list. FLIEGELMAN is further described by the Passport Office,USDS, as being born June 16, 1950, at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and the holder of U.S. Passport #J-17037.

On April 29, 1970, the Passport Office advised that MARC LEE FLIEGELMAN arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, at approximately 8:00 AM on April 28, 1970, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bregnes." A notation was made that FLIEGELMAN was a member of the Venceremos Brigade. Upon his return to the U.S., FLIEGELMAN provided his current address as 7756 Bennett Road, Wyncote, Pennsylvania.

LAURA FONER

LAURA FONER is a white female who was born in the Bronx, New York, on February 10, 1944. FONER was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during Octbber, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting in December, 1969. More recently she was a member of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MOLLY SPENDER FRANKEL

FRANKEL is a white female who was born on April 27, 1949, in California. FRANKEL has been highly active in the PFOC in the San Francisco area.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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JOHN FREDERIC FRAPPIER

JON FRAPPIER is a white male who was born on April 9, 1939, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Long involved in SDS affairs in Michigan, FRAPPIER traveled to Chicago where he was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots during October, 1969. FRAPPIER is married to NANCY BARRETT FRAPPIER who has also been deeply involved in WUO activities and is presently a national leader of the PFOC. (See the section of this document on NANCY BARRETT FRAPPIER.)

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

JON FRAPPIER was stopped by Flint, Michigan Police for a traffic violation while driving in the vicinity of the site of the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. (It is assumed that he was one of the WUO members attending this three day convention which lasted from December 27 to 31, 1969.)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JON FRAPPIER and DIANA OUGHTON, both of the SDS sponsored Radical Education Project in Ann Arbor, Michigan, were in Guatamala in 1966 during which time they attempted to arrange liaison with Guatamalan guerrilla groups on behalf of the Radical Education Project's Guatamala Project.

TOP SECRET

NANCY BARRETT FRAPPIER

NANCY FRAPPIER is a white female who was born on February 19, 1939, at Cleveland, Ohio. A long-time associate of many WUO members, FRAPPIER is now a national leader of the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

advised during an interview with FBI Agents that a license number noted during the Flint Weatherman War Council held in December, 1969, was registered to the University of Michigan. Investigation conducted by revealed this vehicle was charged out at this time to NANCY FRAPPIER.

On February 2, 1971, FBI Agents of the San Francisco Office observed JENNIFER DOHRN, sister of Weatherman fugitive BERNARDINE DOHRN, leaving the Berkeley residence of NANCY FRAPPIER.

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

Records of the Passport Office, Washington,D.C., on March 2, 1970, reflected that the name of NANCY BARRETT FRAPPIER was on the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes" which departed St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, on or about February 31, 1970, destined for Cuba.

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NICHOLAS ALBRECHT FREUDENBERG

NICK FREUDENBERG is a white male who was born in Bound Brook, New Jersey, on August 21, 1948. He was active in SDS during the time of the Columbia University riots in New York and later became a member of the WUO during 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On January 8, 1969, during an SDS Commentary Series broadcast over radio station WBAI-FM in New York, announcer NICK FREUDENBERG of the New York SDS Regional Staff, stated the month of January marked the tenth anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution, and in celebration thereof and in solidarity with the Cubans, SDS had proclaimed the week as Cuban Week. FREUDENBERG continued that in the fall of 1968, a group of SDS people, including himself and NANCY BIBERMAN of Columbia University SDS, had spent a month in Cuba touring the country.

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DONNA FUTTERMAN

DONNA FUTTERMAN is a white female whose place and date of birth are unknown. She has been an active member of the New York chapter of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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VICKI LEVINS GABRINER

VICKI GABRINER is a white female who was born on July 5, 1942, in Brooklyn, New York. GABRINER, who was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, worked closely with the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in defending other activists arrested during these riots. She was subsequently active with WUO in the Boston area.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

VICKI GABRINER, Passport #A145033, was one of the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade who re-entered the U.S. at Calais, Maine, on April 28, 1970, via private vehicle. (C)

(CG T-88, 4/28/70)

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BRIAN GERALD GLICK

BRIAN GLICK is a white male who was born on May 13, 1940, in Chicago, Illinois. GLICK was an associate of various WUO people during 1969 and is presently an active member of the PFOC in San Francisco.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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JOYCE GREENWAYS

JOYCE GREENWAYS is a white female who was born in the Hague, Netherlands, on March 28, 1951. GREENWAYS attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" and was active in the WUO in Ohio.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

As of December 27, 1969, GREENWAYS was a member of the WUO collective functioning in the Cincinnati, Ohio, area. She attended the Flint, Michigan War Council with other Cincinnati WUO members.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On April 28, 1970, GREENWAYS re-entered the U.S. at Calais, Maine, following her return to Canada from Cuba. She was a part of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. (C)

(CG T-88, 5/2/[illegible])

TOP SECRET

MORRIS ALAN GROSSNER,
Aka Morris Older

MORRIS GROSSNER is a white male who was born on July 11, 1948, in Washington, D.C. He was an employee of the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during late 1969 and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MORRIS OLDER was a member of a group of individuals who traveled to Cuba during August, 1968. [redacted]

JEFFREY HERBERT HAAS

JEFF HAAS is a white male who was born on September 18, 1942, at Atlanta,Georgia. He is an attorney by profession and has been active in the National Lawyers Guild, having been a Regional Vice President in the past. He has represented numerous WUO members and support people in legal matters. Presently HAAS is a member of the Chicago Chapter of the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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ROBERT COLBY HACKMAN

ROBERT HACKMAN is a white male who was born on May 7, 1953, in New York, New York. HACKMAN is the brother of former WUO member SHELLEY J.HACKMAN. He was formerly an active member of WUO in New York during early 1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

HACKMAN was observed by Special Agents of the FBI participating in WUO sponsored demonstrations in the New York area during July, October and November, 1969.

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

ROBERT HACKMAN was among the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade that arrived in Canada from Cuba, via ship during April, 1970. HACKMAN returned to the U.S. via Calais, Maine, on April 28, 1970. (C)

(CG T-88 5/2/70)

TOP SECRET

LEONARD HANDLESMAN

LENNIE HANDLESMAN is a white male who was born on January 7, 1946, in New York, New York. Arrested during a WUO confrontation with police in Chicago on September 24, 1969, HANDLESMAN subsequently became a fugitive when he submerged into the underground in early 1970 thus failing to appear for trial. HANDLESMAN remained in an underground status until his arrest by the FBI in Washington State in 1975.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

ANN MARIE HATHAWAY

ANN HATHAWAY is a white female who was born in Detroit, Michigan, on November 13, 1948. HATHAWAY was a member of the WUO "Motor City Nine" and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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JUDITH LEE HEMBLEN,
Aka. Judy Clavir, Judy Gumbo

JUDY GUMBO is a white female who was born on June 25, 1943, in Toronto, Canada. Although never actually documented as a member of the WUO, GUMBO is a close associate of many WUO members and traveled to Algeria in 1970 to meet with TIMOTHY LEARY, whom the WUO had transported out of the country after having caused his escape from prison.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

JUDITH HEMBLEN has resided with her paramour STEWART ALBERT in a house located at 2917 Ashley Avenue, Berkeley, California. They resided there in "commune style" with other young radicals. One such individual, THOMAS EMMETT HAYDEN, who is publicly known as one of the original founders of SDS, resided there.

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On May 1, 1974, a Special Agent of the FBI observed ALBERT and GUMBO transporting CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF to the Lingston, New York, Continental Trailways Bus Station, in GUMBO's Volkswagen. VAN LYDEGRAF is known to have functioned in the WUO underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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On August 27, 1970, NANCY KURSHAN, JUDITH HEMBLEN and ROBERT GREENBLATT were in Cuba meeting with a North Vietnamese contingent.

JUDITH HEMBLEN had departed for Algiers, Algeria, with STEW ALBERT via Canada, to meet with ELDRIDGE CLEAVER for a period of three weeks.

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On September 9, 1975, KURT GROENWALD was observed departing 102 West 14th Street, New York City, accompanied by ELLEN RAY, JUDY HEMBLEN and STEWART ALBERT.

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(CG T-18 8/15/75)

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MARGUERITE JOAN HOPE,
Aka "Meg" "Mary Jane"

"MEG" HOPE is a white female who was born on March 15, 1948, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Highly active in WUO matters, HOPE was a regular employee of the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago from the summer of 1969 until February, 1970. HOPE was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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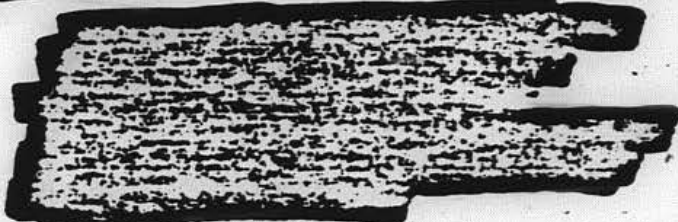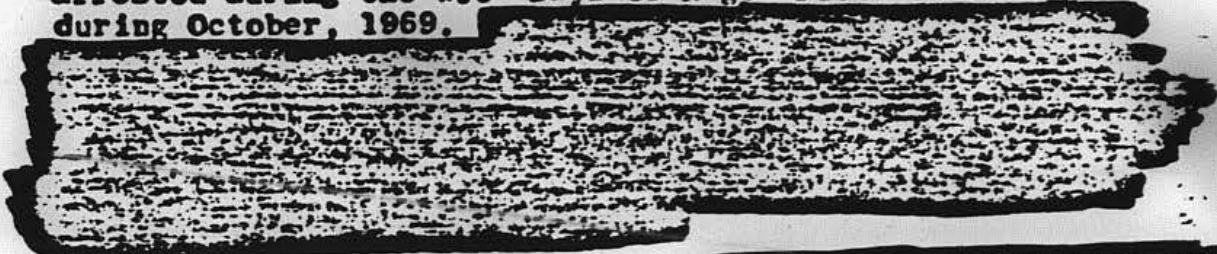
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LENORE RUTH KALOM, Aka.
Margaret Ann Williams,
Leba Kalom, Nori Kalom,
Susan Price, Lynn Flickes

LENORE KALOM is a white female who was born in South Haven, Michigan on February 18, 1948. KALOM was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

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ELEANORE RENEE KENNEDY

ELEANORE KENNEDY is the wife of attorney MICHAEL KENNEDY. She is a white female who was born on December 29, 1940 at Jersey City, New Jersey. She is an associate of various WUO support people and has assisted BERNARDINE DOHRN who is a fugitive.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

A source advised a photograph of LORRAINE JELLINS was identical with Weatherman fugitive BERNARDINE DOHRN.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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MICHAEL JOHN KENNEDY

MICHAEL KENNEDY is a white male who was born on March 23, 1937 at Spokane, Washington. He is an attorney by profession who has associated with WUO support people and who has directly assisted the WUO underground.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Records of United Airlines showed that on April 16, 1971, JENNIFER DOHRN, sister of WUO fugitive BERNARDINE DOHRN, departed Chicago, Illinois, enroute to San Francisco, California, on United Air Lines Flight 121, arriving at San Francisco at approximately 3:00 p.m. on that date.

(Also see section of this document of ELEANORE RENEE KENNEDY)

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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MARTIN HERMAN KENNER

MARTIN KENNER is a white male who was born on February 19, 1941. KENNER, who has a long radical background, was recruited by the WUO leadership to work in the WUO-dominated SDS National Office in Chicago after the WUO had taken control of SDS.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARTIN KENNER worked in the WUO-dominated SDS National Office during the summer of 1969. He was also a member of the National Action Staff which was responsible for the planning of the "Days of Rage" riots that occurred during October, 1969, in Chicago.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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On November 11, 1970, JENNIFER DOHRN and KENNER held a press conference at the Diplomat Hotel in New York City. DOHRN noted that this conference was for the purpose of clearing up certain things and for playing a tape recording from Dr. LEARY. DOHRN stated the purpose of the group's trip to Algeria was to bring revolutionary greetings to the Palestinian rebels. In addition, DOHRN indicated that in her travels in the U.S. and abroad, individuals she had been in contact with indicated to her that the bombings conducted by radical elements in the U.S. have a good purpose and are fulfilling their intended purposes. DOHRN concurred with this feeling.

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DAVID BENJAMIN KLAFTER

DAVID KLAFTER is a white male who was born on December , 1946 in Washington, D. C. KLAFTER was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. He submerged into the underground in early, 1970 thus becoming a fugitive insofar as he failed to appear for trial in Chicago. He subsequently surfaced in April, 1971 and surrendered to his outstanding warrants. More recently he was involved in activities of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

DAVID KLAFTER was interviewed by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), in May, 1974, wherein he admitted traveling to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade, but refused to answer further questions.

TOP SECRET

KAREN JO KOONAN

KAREN JO KOONAN is a white female, date of birth August 7, 1945, at Savannah, Georgia. She attended the College of Fine Arts, University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) in 1963 majoring in dance.

KAREN KOONAN, in 1966, was a member of the UCLA Youth Club, Southern District of California Communist Party.

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KAREN KOONAN attended the SDS National Council meeting held at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana, in December 1967.

The November 1967 issue of the "Movement" newspaper, self-described as affiliated with SDS, contained an article by KAREN KOONAN entitled, "Anti Draft and Womens Rights."

The February 1968 issue of the "Movement" relates events of KAREN KOONAN's trip to Asia.

The "New York Post," November 17, 1967 under the caption, "Bound For North Vietnam," reflects that four members of SDS including KAREN KOONAN were boarding a plane at Kennedy Airport with their eventual destination being North Vietnam. Two other individuals also departing were JEFF JONES and CATHY WILKERSON.

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Connections with KEN CLOKE

(See reference to KEN CLOKE, including BARRY LITT.)

The 1973 NLG Referral Guild Directory reveals that KAREN JO KOONAN was listed as a Legal Worker for the law firm of ANDERSON, LITT (BARRETT), LUND and TOCKMAN, Los Angeles, California.

The law offices of ANDERSON, LITT, LUND and TOCKMAN, 619 South Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, California, revealed posters on the walls which included photographs of communist leaders and slogans of revolutionists which advocate overthrow of the U.S. Government and which advocate the "power of the gun."

NANCY SARAH KURSHAN, Aka.
Nancy Rubin, Mrs. Howard Emmer

NANCY KURSHAN is a white female who was born on February 4, 1944 at New York, New York. She is the common-law wife of HOWARD JOEL EMMER. KURSHAN has a lengthy radical background which includes SDS membership as far back as 1965 and national leadership roles in the Youth International Party (YIP). She was formerly the wife of YIP founder JERRY CLYDE RUBIN. More recently KURSHAN was a national leader of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The March 25, 1970, issue of the "Daily News," a New York daily newspaper, on page 24, contained an article disclosing that at a news conference held at the Hotel Diplomat in New York City on March 24, 1970, called by MARTIN KENNER, Coordinator of the Committee to Decend the Panther 21, NANCY RUBIN and NANCY HOFFMAN, Yippie wives, announced that they were leaving on that date for Stockholm, Sweden, to confer with revolutionary leaders from North Vietnam and other countries.

On April 1, 1970, JERRY RUBIN personally appeared on the Phil Donahue Show, aired on WLW-D television, Dayton, Ohio, at which time he stated, "My wife (NANCY KURSHAN) is right now in Sweden... Viet Cong and North Vietnamese and student revolutionaries throughout Europe plan a day of demonstrations sometime in the fall."

Page 11 of Packet Number 258, dated May 23, 1970, of the "Liberation News Service" (LNS), contained an article captioned "Yippie Women Meet with Vietnamese in Hanoi." This article stated that in early April, 1970, three Yippie women, including NANCY KURSHAN RUBIN, went to Sweden to attend a world conference called by the North Vietnamese. The article stated that out of the Sweden conference evolved plans for the Yippies to meet for two weeks with North Vietnamese youth in Hanoi. According to the article, the women arrived at Moscow's International Airport on May 18, 1970, en route to Hanoi.

Page 53 of the June 10, 1970, late city edition of the "New York Times," a daily New York City newspaper, contained an article captioned, "Jerry Rubin's Wife in Moscow Protest." This article, datelined "Moscow, June 9," stated that on that date, NANCY RUBIN and two other American women, who had just returned from two weeks in Hanoi, demonstrated in front of the U.S. Embassy against American military action in Southeast Asia. According to the article, the three women arrived at the Embassy at 11:00 a.m. and unfurled a handlettered poster reading, "Ho Chi Minh. The NLF is Gonna Win," and "We are the Americong." The National Liberation Front (NLF) is a Vietcong organization.

This article also states that the group returning from Hanoi told newsmen they had spent two weeks in Hanoi and were returning to the U.S. with more than 100 letters written by captured American servicemen.

In July, 1970, KURSHAN stated that the YIP group going to Havana, Cuba, would depart New York City on July 27, 1970, for St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, to board a ship for Cuba. It is believed that the YIP contingent will travel to Cuba on the ship with the third contingent of the Venceremos Brigade.

KURSHAN was part of a group visiting in Cuba that met with a North Vietnamese contingent in Cuba.

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JONATHAN DAVID LERNER
Aka. John W. Goyne, "Sunny Daze"

JON LERNER is a white male who was born on March 29, 1948 in Washington, D. C. He functioned as the office manager of the WUO dominated SDS national office in late 1969 and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. LERNER submerged into the underground in early 1970 surfacing a year later. More recently he has been highly active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

LERNER traveled to Cuba as one of four representatives of the WUO on the second Venceremos Brigade in February, 1970. (For further details of the trip see the section of this document on the Venceremos Brigade.)

Although the following refers to a speech made prior to LERNER's trip to Cuba, it reflects how he had already been influenced by forces outside of the U.S.:

On October 9, 1969 in the midst of the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago, LERNER addressed a press conference at Chicago's Civic Center stating:

> I am Jonathan Lerner: Asst. National Secretary of SDS.
>
> The ring that I am wearing on my hand was made in North Viet Nam from the wreckage of an American Fighter. Viet Nam a nation which has been oppressed for centuries has won. It can defend itself. The American occupation forces have retreated to their cities and to their heavily defended basis. The Vietnamese people are the vanguard. Their victorious struggle has been an example to all oppressed people of the world.
>
> As revolutionaries in a country of imperialism we feel it is our duty to join. We are building a revolutionary youth movement to fight against imperialism.

Last night we had a memorial for Che Guevera, and for the murder of millions.

Last night was the beginning for us. The beginning of a new struggle. We no longer simply resist the pigs. We no longer trap ourselves. We have gone on the offensive. It was nearly half an hour before the police were able to show full force. By that time we had done our work. People will walk a little less secure tonight.

Two days ago some pig declared was on us. Last night 63 were arrested and eight were killed, but these were small losses. There were 1,000 last night and more on the way. This afternoon we will gather at the Federal Building under the leadership of the BPP. This will be one of the few demonstrations against the trial. Bobby Seale was indicted as one of the eight so-called conspirators. His indictment is just one more example of the way this imperialistic country works. We join the BPP in their demand to free all political prisoners.

Tomorrow we will move on the high schools of Chicago, free our brothers and sisters. Imperialism has been forced on them by their teachers. We are going to break the high schools out of their jails.

On Saturday we will rally on Haymarket Square and move through the city and have another big riot. We are demanding that our U.S. occupational troops be removed from Viet Nam.

EO

KAREN LEE LIEBERMAN
Aka. Karen Lee Wald

KAREN WALD is a white female who was born in New York New York on December 7, 1943. WALD has a lengthy association with SDS and the WUO.

WUO/PFSC Affiliation

The December, 1967, issue of "The Movement" lists KAREN WALD as a member of the editorial group of that publication.

"The Movement" is a newspaper published monthly in San Francisco, California, and is self-described as affiliated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and SDS.

KAREN WALD who was in Cuba at the time, contacted the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago during June, 1969 and talked to JEFF JONES.

KAREN WALD stayed at the residence of WUO support person NANCY BARRETT FRAPPIER in Oakland, California during the last part of March, 1971.

On May 20, 1971, KAREN WALD was observed by FBI Agents of the San Francisco Office to visit the Eugenia Collective, San Francisco, a known Weatherman support group collective.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On February 23, 1967, KAREN WALD LIEBERMAN departed from the San Francisco Bay Area to Paris, France. LIEBERMAN indicated that she intended to stay approximately six weeks in Paris, during which time she would occasionally commute to Brussels, Belgium. At Brussels, she intended to assist in work on some future "war crimes trials" wherein the U.S. is to be accused of committing war crimes in

North Vietnam. LIEBERMAN returned to the United States in September, 1967.

An article published in the "National Guardian" issue of May 13, 1967, carries an article entitled "Eye Witness: Spain's Student Rebellion." The byline on the article indicated that it was written by KAREN WALD and is datelined Madrid.

KAREN WALD was in Stockholm, Sweden, during May, 1967, where she was associated with the Bertrand Russell Tribunal Staff.

(CG T-18, 6/13/67)

On March 9, 1968 U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, Hidalgo, Texas, advised KAREN LEE WALD had arrived in Mexico City International Airport on March 7, 1968, and had been advised by the Mexican Immigration officials that they could not remain in that country and were escorted back to the U.S.

An article entitled "Grad Tells of Abduction Enroute to Cuba" which appeared in "The Daily Californian," University of California newspaper, Berkeley, California, issue dated April 26, 1968, relates how "six students and journalists enroute to Cuba were abducted from the Mexico City Airport and driven back to the United States early in March." One of these people was listed as KAREN WALD, journalist.

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TOP SECRET

(CG T-18 , 8/20/73)

KAREN WALD returned to the U.S. in September, 1970.

(CG T- 18 11/70)

KAREN WALD returned to the U.S. in early March, 1971.

An article appeared in the "San Francisco Examiner," a San Francisco newspaper of general circulation, On April 7, 1969, entitled "How Reds Spur Campus Disorders." This article discussed the ways in which communist and Marxist-Leninist thinkers influence group activities including peace demonstrations and other demonstrations. This article listed KAREN WALD as one of the activists who has been involved in creating disruption in the U.S. The article stated the following: "KAREN WALD, or LIEBERMAN, reportedly went from Berkeley to Cuba, on to Moscow, back to New York in time for the Columbia uprising, then back to Berkeley for the latest disturbances there."

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TOP SECRET

CONSTANCE IRENE LONG,
Aka. Constance Irene Ullman,
Roni Anna Gonzer

CONNIE LONG is a white female who was born on January 4, 1941, at New York, New York. Long active in SDS, ULLMAN joined the WUO at its onset and was arrested during the "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. Investigation subsequently located LONG using the name RONI ANNA GONZER living with fugitive underground WUO member WILLIAM FRANCIS WILLETT in San Francisco, California. The FBI subsequently arrested WILLETT on a charge of unlawful flight to avoid prosecution based upon his flight from the State of Illinois to avoid responding to outstanding warrants issued in Chicago in connection with his arrests during a WUO related rally. LONG is separated from her husband, former WUO member GERALD LONG, who was one of the writers of the "Weatherman statement" upon which the WUO was founded.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The first edition of "Granma" newspaper dated December 29, 1967, contained a photograph of CONNIE ULLMAN. The caption indicated that ULLMAN had just arrived in Cuba to attend the Cultural Congress of Havana.

"Granma" is the official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba and is published on a daily basis in Havana, Cuba.

TOP SECRET

GERALD WILLIAM LONG

JERRY LONG is a white male who was born on September 22, 1936 in Chicago, Illinois. LONG was recognized as one of the leaders of the WUO in 1969 and was one of the authors of the "Weatherman Statement" upon which the organization was founded. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

In 1964 it was learned that the Student Committee for Travel to Cuba (SCTC) formerly known as the Permanent Student Committee for Travel to Cuba, was sponsoring a trip to Cuba during the summer of 1964 in order to test the U.S. Government ban on travel to Cuba. Persons making the trip were to pay $10 with their application form and $100 for travel within the U.S. Travel outside the U.S. and other expenses were to be paid by the Cuban Federation of University Students.

Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) forms 1-94, John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, New York, showed that LONG left New York City for Paris, France via Air France Airlines, Flight 010, June 10, 1964.

A source advised that ROGER TAUS, a Coordinator of SCTC stated on August 12, 1964, that the 84 students who had gone to Cuba would be returning on August 14, 1964, at John F. Kennedy International Airport, New York City, New York.

Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reviewed INS forms 1-94, completed by students returning on Air France Flight 017 from Paris, France at John F. Kennedy International Airport on August 14, 1964. For 1-94 regarding GERALD LONG reflected that he had visited Cuba and held U.S. passport number E073957.

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On September 11, 1964, GERALD WILLIAM LONG advised a Special Agent of the FBI that he knew nothing of the financial arrangements involved in his trip to Cuba and did not wish to submit to interview by the FBI.

On February 23, 1965, LONG attended a meeting of the Yale Socialist Union, New Haven, Connecticut, at which meeting he was a speaker. LONG admitted making a trip to Cuba in the summer of 1964, which was sponsored by SCTC. He praised the Cuban Revolution and FIDEL CASTRO.

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The first edition of "Granma" which source describes as the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, on December 29, 1967, contained a photograph of GERALD LONG and stated that he had just arrived in Cuba to attend the Cultural Congress of Havana, which was held January 4-11, 1968.

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A source advised that LONG disembarked from the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes" in St. John, New Brunswick, Canada on February 12, 1970. LONG had been in Cuba, participating in the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. (C)

(Cu F- 68 2/12/70)

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During March, 1970 it was determined that the "Weather Bureau" which controlled the WUO at the time had recently met wherein a split had developed among the national leadership as to the course of Weatherman activities. One group supported the view that the time for action is now and that Weatherman should proceed to implement their underground strategy of strategic sabotage by using bombs, explosives and guns to attack the establishment and in particular police and military installations. This group believes Weatherman will learn and develop the technical skills required in the use of bombs and explosives out of sheer necessity.

A second group of Weatherman, many of which are returnees from Cuba, who were in the first Venceremos Brigade, including GERRY LONG, believe that the Weatherman should fall back for a training period of five or six months and develop the technical skills of explosives in order to avoid the mistake of three other Weatherman who had been killed accidentally while making bombs in New York City.

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CLAUDE DANIEL MARKS

CLAUDE MARKS is a white male who was born on December 31, 1949 in Buenos Aires, Argentina. MARKS has been active in the San Francisco chapter of the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

CLAUDE DANIEL MARKS from the San Francisco Bay Area will be part of the eighth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. Individuals comprising the eighth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade will be traveling from various parts of the U.S. to Mexico during mid-March, 1975.

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CHARLES CLARK MARSHALL, III
Aka. "Chip" Marshall

"CHIP" MARSHALL is a white male who was born at Bethesda, Maryland on February 10, 1945. MARSHALL was highly active in the Cornell University chapter of SDS in the late 1960s and was an SDS national officer in 1968. When the WUO took control of the SDS national office and began preparations for their "Days of Rage" riots, MARSHALL traveled to Chicago and worked in the national office. He later moved to Washington state.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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The May 26, 1969 issue of the "Ithaca Journal" (Ithaca, New York) contained an article entitled "Metamorphasis of Two Young Radicals" written by managing editor RANDALL E. SHEW. In the article which was partly about CHARLES C. (CHIP) MARSHALL, MARSHALL was quoted as saying "...The whole system in the United States is based on oppressive violence and it must be countered by violence...I was in Cuba for 6 weeks last summer. I saw at least in terms of an underdeveloped society, socialism at work..."

TOP SECRET

Miscellaneous Travel

On March 12, 1973 it was learned that MARSHALL traveled across country for the purpose of departing from New York on or before February 28, 1973 enroute to Africa. MARSHALL supposedly was planning to spend some six months in Africa traveling to such countries as Ethiopia.

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CATHLEEN CLAIR MC GHEE
Aka. Cathleen Clair Rini

CATHLEEN MC GHEE is a white female who was born on November 23, 1958 in Cleveland, Ohio. MC GHEE was active in WUO matters in the Cleveland area in 1969 and although not arrested, was an active participant in the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MC GHEE was one of WUO members from Cleveland who traveled to Chicago to participate in the "Days of Rage" riots. During the protests in October, 1969 she participated in the breaking of some windows. (U)

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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HOWARD JEFFREY MELISH
Aka. Jeff Melish

"JEFF" MELISH is a white male who was born in New York, New York on August 13, 1947. MELISH worked in the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago during late 1969 and he was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MELISH attended the Ninth World Youth Festival held at Sofia, Bulgaria, from July 28 - August 6, 1968.

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Delegates to the Ninth World Youth Festival met with Vietnamese, American military deserters and individuals from the USSR. They also visited the Chinese Embassy in Sofia, Bulgaria. (S)

(CG T-18, 1968)

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MELISH entered Canada on February 12, 1970 and subsequently sailed to Cuba on a commercial vessel. (S)

(CG T-162, 2/70)

TOP SECRET

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JAMES GERALD MELLEN

JAMES MELLEN is a white male who was born on August 13, 1935 in Los Angeles, California. Considered one of the leaders of the WUO in 1969, MELLEN was one of the authors of the "Weatherman Statement" written in early 1969 upon which the WUO was founded. MELLEN was active in the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago although not arrested.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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(CG T- 18, 8/10/67)

"The Morris County Daily Record," a daily newspaper, Morristown, New Jersey, issues dated September 30, 1965, contained an article in which JAMES MELLEN, instructor at Drew University, Madison, New Jersey, told a Rutgers University teach-in audience on that day that he, MELLEN, was a Marxist and socialist and would welcome a Viet Cong victory.

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(CG T-18 , 6/2/67)

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CATHERINE FRANCES MELVILLE
Aka. Catherine Frances Sagan

CATHERINE MELVILLE is a white female who was born on October 9, 1936 in Girard, Ohio. Long active in radical activities, evidence exists that she and/or her husband, ARTHUR MELVILLE, have been in contact with the WUO.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

On June 26, 1974, ARTHUR MELVILLE was arrested on a charge of possession of marijuana. During a search of MELVILLE's residence, the Los Angeles Police Department found SLA literature, revolutionary information from Latin America, a xeroxed copy of a manuscript entitled, "Manzanita IV," a WUO communique similar to the one received by news media in Los Angeles following the bombing of the California State Attorney's office in Los Angeles on May 31, 1974, and publications from North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA). NACLA is a research organization initiated by SDS.

The manuscript, "Manzanita IV" is the rough draft form of the publication by the WUO entitled, "Prairie Fire," which was released in September 1974.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

CATHERINE MELVILLE and her husband, ARTHUR MELVILLE were expelled from Guatemala in 1969 for preaching revolution. In 1969, both were arrested for ransacking offices of Dow Chemical Company, Washington, D. C. This action was done in connection with a protest against the war in Vietnam.

TOP SECRET

NANCY LEE MEYER

NANCY MEYER is a white female who was born on July 23, 1947 in New York, New York. She was highly active in SDS affairs in the Washington, D. C. - Baltimore, Maryland area in 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council@ in December, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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"The Hatchet" GWU newspaper contained an article in its March 17, 1969 issue entitled "SDS Discusses HumRRO Tactics." NANCY MEYER was identified as an SDS member and it was related that she had presented a summary of activities of GWU Human Resources Research Office which presentation was described as a first step in the SDS campaign to destroy that office.

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MEYER was reportedly residing in an SDS Commune House in Baltimore, Maryland. This house located at 227 South Fulton Street is that of the SDS Weatherman Faction. MEYER had resided there for several months.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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MEYER went to Cuba in February, 1970, as a member of the Venceremos Brigade.

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PAUL JOSEPH MILLER

PAUL MILLER is a white male who was born on June 16, 1951, in the Bronx, New York. He has been identified as being an associate of former WUO members in Vermont and resides at the Vermont PFOC address.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

PAUL JOSEPH MILLER was identified as traveling to Cuba as a member of the Venceremos Brigade on February 12, 1970, returning to the U.S. on April 28, 1970. He has been identified as residing at Post Office Box 121, Marshfield, Vermont, with several persons known to be sympathizers and supporters of the Weatherman, among them MARC LEE FLIEGEMAN, brother of the WUO underground member RONALD DAVID FLIEGELMAN. Post Office Box 121, Marshfield, Vermont, is also the current mailing address for the Vermont PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On March 2, 1970, the PASSPORT Office, USDS, Washington, D.C. made available the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which according to the USDS, departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba. PAUL JOSEPH MILLER's name appears on this list. MILLER is further described by the Passport Office as being born June 16, 1951, at Bronx, New York, and is the holder of U.S. Passport #A-106158.

DAVID HIRAM MILLSTONE

DAVID MILLSTONE is a white male who was born on October 7, 1946, in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. MILLSTONE, who was a former editor of the SDS newspaper "New Left Notes," was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. Although MILLSTONE did not actually submerge into the underground with the WUO, he did act to assist them in their efforts to avoid detection.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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An article appearing in the September 29, 1969, issue of the "Clarion," a tri-weekly publication of the University of Denver, pertaining to the September 27-28, 1969, convention of SDS, reported that DAVID MILLSTONE, former editor of "New Left Notes," spoke on the "NLF: Victory for the Vietnamese" at a session held on September 28, 1969.

During the convention on September 27, 1969, MILLSTONE, who was identified as being the leader of the SDS Regional Office in Denver, Colorado, talked of his visit to Cuba and of his contacts with the North Vietnamese representatives there. He commented that BERNARDINE DOHRN was also present in Cuba with him. MILLSTONE stated the representatives of the National Liberation Front were pleased with SDS' attempt to form a Marxist-Leninist Party. He ended his comments with the statement that the Vietcong are winning their revolution and that SDS must be like them.

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JUDITH ANN MIRKINSON,
Aka. "Merc"

JUDY MIRKINSON is a white female who was born on March 6, 1950, in Brooklyn, New York. She has been active with SDS, the Youth International Party, the National Lawyers Guild, and more recently the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

A girl called "Merc" attended a meeting of the New York SDS on December 5, 1969, and is a member of that group.

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

JUDITH MIRKINSON was reported as a new member of the personnel at the Peoples House in Okinawa, Japan, replacing a recently departed activist. Peoples House serves as the headquarters for the National Lawyers Guild Military Law Office, Pacific Counseling Service, and Vietnam Veterans Against the War in Koza City, Okinawa, Prefecture, Japan. ~~(C)~~

(CG T-169, 6/19/73)

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RAYMOND LEE MOSER

RAY MOSER is a white male who was born on April 3, 1948, in Uniontown, Pennsylvania. MOSER was active in the WUO in Ohio in 1969 and early 1970.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MOSER was a member of the WUO collective in Cincinnati, Ohio, as of December 27, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during that month. Upon his return MOSER assumed a minor leadership role in the WUO collective at the University of Cincinnati.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On April 28, 1970, MOSER re-entered the U.S. at Calais, Maine, following his return to Canada from Cuba. He was a part of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade. (C)

(CG T-88, 4/70)

TOP SECRET

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JANE ANN NAGLER, Aka.
Jane Ann White, "Leslie"

JANE NAGLER is a white female who was born on October 5, 1949 in Toledo, Ohio. NAGLER was active in the WUO in Ohio and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in October, 1969. She attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. NAGLER is married to LARRY NAGLER who has also been active in the WUO.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NAGLER was one of the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade who returned to the U.S. from Cuba via Canada across the border at Calais, Maine on April 28, 1970. She traveled under U.S. passport number AO 94675. (S)

(CG T-88, 5/2/70)

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LAWRENCE MICHAEL NAGLER
Aka. "Luke", Jerry Webb

LARRY NAGLER is a white male who was born on November 6, 1951 in New York, New York. NAGLER was active in WUO matters in Ohio before traveling to Cuba on the second Venceremos Brigade. On his return he announced he was creating a cadre to function as a part of the WUO and subsequently claimed to have been in contact with the leadership of the WUO. He is married to JANE ANN WHITE NAGLER, who herself has been affiliated with the WUO in the past.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NAGLER was one of the members of the second contingent of the Venceremos Brigade who returned to the U.S. from Cuba via Canada across the border at Calais, Maine on April 28, 1970. He traveled to Cuba under U.S. passport AO 94675. (S)

(CG T- 88, 5/2/70)

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COLIN STUART NEIBURGER

NEIBURGER is a white male who was born on December 4, 1949, in Newport News, Virginia. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" held in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently NEIBURGER has been active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NEIBURGER traveled to Paris, France, in July, 1972, to meet with representatives of the North Vietnamese. His trip was sponsored by the Anti-War Union.

TOP SECRET

RUSSELL TODD NEUFELD

NEUFELD is a white male who was born on September 22, 1947, in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. More recently he has taken a leadership capacity in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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JULIE ANN NICHAMIN,
Aka. Sharon Ann Englander,
Kiana Lena DeJulio,
Linda S. Peterson,
Ruth Ann Powers,
Ruth Ellen Powers, "Tanjia"

NICHAMIN is a white female who was born in Detroit, Michigan, on November 8, 1942. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in October, 1969, in Chicago, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council." She was largely instrumental in creating the Venceremos Brigade. During the early 1970s NICHAMIN functioned closely with the WUO and utilized at least two false identifications.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

NICHAMIN foreign influence and travel can be found in the Venceremos Brigade section of this document.

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HILTON MANFRED OBENZINGER

HILTON OBENZINGER is a white male who was born on May 22, 1947, in New York, New York. He was active in the PFOC in 1974 and has been reported in contact with WUO fugitive MARK RUDD who is an old friend of his.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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LAURA ANN OBERT

OBERT is a white female who was born on October 30, 1949, in Madison, Wisconsin. She was a member of the "Pittsburgh 26" and was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

LAURA OBERT, traveling under U.S. Passport #K 16776304, departed Mexico for Havana, Cuba, on the Venceremos Brigade on November 28, 1969.

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JED PROUJANSKY

PROUJANSKY is a white male who was born on September 16, 1949, in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969. More recently, PROUJANSKY has been involved in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On February 2, 1970, the Passport Office, USDS, Washington, D.C., advised that PROUJANSKY's name appeared on the passenger list for the Cuban ship "Luis Arcos Bergnes," which departed St. John, New Brunswick, on or about February 13, 1970, destined for Cuba.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service, Portland, Maine, advised on April 28, 1970, that on that date a group of individuals known as the Venceremos Brigade arrived at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, aboard the Cuban vessel "Luis Arcos Bergnes." PROUJANSKY, Passport #G509990, then residing at 9701 Shore Road, New York, was among those members.

LANCE MICHAEL PUSTIN

LANCE PUSTIN is a white male who was born on March 15, 1949. He has been highly active in the PFOC in the Philadelphia area.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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On April 16, 1976 a handout leaflet was obtained which advertised a meeting regarding Angola in Philadelphia on April 18, 1976. In the body of the handout was the following paragraph:

> On February 26, and 27, a group of North American Progressives met in Havannah, Cuba, with a delegation from the MPLA. Larry Holmes a member of the National Committee Workers League Party and the Third World Caucus of Youth Against War and Fascism and Lance Puston, member of the Natinal Committee of PFOC will report on the meeting in Cuba.

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JONAH SETH RASKIN, PhD

JONAH RASKIN is a white male who was born on January 3, 1942, in Brooklyn, New York. He was an employee of the WUO-dominated SDS National Office during the summer of 1969. RASKIN wrote a book entitled "The Weather Eye" in late 1974 in which he set forth a number of WUO communiques. More recently RASKIN was involved in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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(CG T-18, 10/70)

Miscellaneous Travel

On May 26, 1961, RASKIN was issued a U.S. Passport for travel to England, France, Switzerland and Italy. On May 10, 1966, RASKIN was issued a passport at the American Consulate in Liverpool, England, so as to remain abroad for two years. (C)

(CG T-62, 5/61)

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NICHOLAS BRITT RIDDLE

NICK RIDDLE is a white male who was born on September 22, 1951, in Wilkesboro, North Carolina. He became involved with the WUO in Michigan during late 1969 and was subsequently arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

TOP SECRET

NATALEE ANN ROSENSTEIN

NATALEE ROSENSTEIN is a white male who was born on June 17, 1947, in New York, New York. ROSENSTEIN was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots during October, 1969, and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969. More recently she was active in the PFOC.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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NANCY ANN RUDD

NANCY RUDD is a white female who was born on October 16, 1951, at Cincinnati, Ohio. She became involved with the WUO in Cincinnati in September, 1969, and subsequently was a part of the Detroit WUO. She participated in the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, although she was not arrested. She spent much of the next two years wandering throughout the country contacting various WUO support-type people.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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<u>RICHARD IRA RUTH</u>

RICHARD RUTH is a white male who was born on September 15, 1953, in New Haven, Connecticut. An associate of many former WUO members, RUTH has been active in the New York PFOC.

<u>WUO/PFOC Affiliation</u>

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<u>Foreign Travel and/or Contacts</u>

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LOUIS DANIEL SEGAL

LOUIS SEGAL is a white male who was born on February 28, 1949, in Oakland, California. Active in the SDS in 1970 on the campus of the University of California at Berkeley, SEGAL claims to have traveled to Cuba in a WUO collective.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

LOUIS SEGAL attended meetings of SDS at the University of California at Berkeley.

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Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

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SEGAL stated he had been in Cuba with the first contingent of the Venceremos Brigade and that he was in the Weatherman collective in the Brigade. This collective was the largest single unit in the Brigade with approximately 50 people, and the collectives held secret meetings. The collective actively recruited among other Brigade members and the people recruited were to join Weatherman communes upon their return to the U.S.

SEGAL reported that he did not know how many Venceremos Brigade members had joined the Weatherman, but he felt they had made some success, and he made no secrets of their policy in engaging in assassinations and reprisal bombings.

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DANIEL ROSS SLICK

DANIEL SLICK is a white male who was born on October 29, 1948, in Quincy, Massachusetts. SLICK was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, and later became a close associate of CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF, who is a known functionary of WUO.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

163

MARGUERITE ROSE SMITH,
Aka. Mimi Smith

"MIMI" SMITH is a white female who was born on February 26, 1947, in Peoria, Illinois. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

164

JEFFREY DAVID SOKOLOW

SOKOLOW is a white male who was born on April 5, 1948 in New York, New York. He was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently he has been active in the PFOC.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

SOKOLOW was a member of the SDS Steering Committee at Columbia University and attended a meeting of that organization during March, 1968.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

B1

165

JANE SPIELMAN

SPIELMAN is a white female who was born on February 21, 1947 in Brooklyn, New York. SPIELMAN was arrested as a part of the WUO "Pittsburgh 26," was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969 and attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" during December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On July 7, 1969 SPIELMAN traveled to Cuba from Mexico. (Accompanying SPIELMAN on the trip were such leading WUO members as BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIANA OUGHTON, TED GOLD, PETER CLAPP and ELEANOR RASKIN.)

Miscellaneous Travel

B1

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TOP SECRET

MARSHA RHODA STEINBERG

MARSHA STEINBERG is a white female who was born on August 22, 1942 at Boston, Massacusetts. She was arrested during the "Pittsburgh 26" action in September, 1969 and again arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARSHA STEINBERG attended a WUO underground meeting held at Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, February 27-28, 1970, at which plans were formulated for the bombing of the Detroit Police Officers Association Building, Grand Boulevard, Detroit. Although STEINBERG initially had been selected to be one of six individuals who would actually place the bomb in the building, she was subsequently directed by Weatherman leaders to leave the city on March 1, 1970 prior to the bombing attempt.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

The Anti-War Union (AWU) , then recently formed to protest U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, sponsored a trip to Paris, France from the U.S. for the period July 20, 1972 to July 27, 1972. The purpose of the trip was to expose a number of Movement people" of the lower ranks to the members of the North Vietnamese delegation to the Paris peace talks.

It is noted that the terms "Movement" and "Movement people" are used to denote the anti-establishment phenomenon, sometimes also known as the "New Left Movement."

Included among those making the AWU sponsored trip was MARSHA STEINBERG, who was then associated with the SDS in Boston, Massacusetts. However, STEINBERG did not depart from New York City in July, 1972, with the main travel group, but met the group upon its arrival in Paris, as she and one other had traveled in advance of the main group to make arrangements for the group following their arrival.

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TOP SECRET

The purpose of the trip by rank and file members of the "Movement," as these delegates were, was, according to CAROLE CULLUM, a member of the AWU, Washington, D. C., to have a group of people in the "Movement" who could return to the U.S. and impress other members of the "Movement" and potential recruits into the "Movement" on the basis of having met personally with the North Vietnamese. It was hoped that such an action would help in the recruiting of additional converts into the "Movement" and thereby help to build the anti-establishment position in the U.S.

The American delegation arrived back in the U.S. at New York City. They had been given no direction by the leadership of the delegation and while it was noted that the Vietnamese had no suggestions as to what the American group might do upon return to the U.S., the Vietnamese had stated they would be interested in having any information which could be furnished to them concerning the development of new weapons by the U.S. They indicated that such information would be especially helpful if they could receive it before such weapons were used on the battlefield. Immediately after the above was mentioned, the subject was dropped and not mentioned again.

The various members of the American delegation brought back to the U.S. some "propaganda literature" which was handed out by the North Vietnamese.

SUSAN ELIZABETH SUTHEIM
(See KEN CLOKE)

SUSAN SUTHEIM, nee BECHAUD, is a white female, date of birth February 28, 1942, at Berkeley, California. SUTHEIM, according to the November 4, 1967 issue of "National Guardian," was then a member of the New York Regional Staff of SDS.

SUSAN SUTHEIM was in Havana, Cuba in January, 1968 attending the Cultural Congress of Havana.

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~~TOP SECRET~~

MARSHALL S. TACK,
Aka "Eric"

MARSHALL TACK is a white male who was born on November 8, 1948, in Lexington, Massachusetts. Active in WUO affairs in Ohio, TACK traveled to Cuba with the first Venceremos Brigade.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

MARSHALL TACK was a member of the WUO collective in Cincinnati, Ohio, as of December 8, 1969, however, as a matter of fact was out of the country in Cuba at the time.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

b1

~~TOP SECRET~~

170

DR. CAROLINE MARGARET TANNER, M. D.
Aka. "CARLIE" TANNER, SHIRLEY JACKSON, MEG JOHNSON, SHIRLEY JAMESON, MARGARET ANN HARMONEY, BETH STEWART

TANNER is a white female who was born on November 21, 1948 in McKeesport, Pennsylvania. She was an employee of the WUO dominated SDS National Office in Chicago during much of the latter part of 1969. In early 1970 she jumped bond in Chicago, Illinois and traveled to Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade [redacted] and functioned as a part of the WUO underground until her arrest in December of 1970.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

[redacted] (For further details see the Venceremos Brigade section of this document.)

171

JOSEPH KIYO TASHIRO

JOSEPH TASHIRO is an Oriental male who was born on May 13, 1945 at Cincinnati, Ohio. During the summer of 1969 he was a full-time employee of the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

TASHIRO traveled to Cuba with the third contingent of the Venceremos Brigade which left for Cuba by ship from St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, on August 23, 1970. (C)

(CG T-184, 9/8/70)

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MALORIE TOLLES

MALORIE TOLLES is a white female who was born on March 13, 1946 at Carmel, California. TOLLES was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots and subsequently became a fugitive when she failed to pay the fine assessed as punishment. In June, 1972 she paid the fine and surfaced from the underground.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

MALORIE TOLLES departed Mexico for Havana, Cuba with the Venceremos Brigade on November 28, 1969.

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ROBERT CARL TOMASHEVSKY

ROBERT TOMASHEVSKY is a white male who was born on July 26, 1941 in New York, New York. TOMASHEVSKY was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" in Chicago during October, 1969, was an employee of the WUO dominated SDS national office in Chicago during the fall, 1969. He attended the WUO "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

B1

Miscellaneous Travel

On September 24, 1974 it was learned that TOMASHEVSKY formerly resided for a time on an island named San Adreas which is located off Colombia, South America.

TOP SECRET

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CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF

CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF is a white male who was born on May 6, 1915 in Salem, Oregon. A former leader in the Communist Party, USA and later active in the Progressive Labor Party, VAN LYDEGRAF became involved with the WUO at the onset of the organization in the spring of 1969. VAN LYDEGRAF attended the "Flint, Michigan War Council" in December, 1969 and later was himself a member of the WUO underground. More recently VAN LYDEGRAF has been active in the PFOC and is presently one of the national leaders of that organization. VAN LYDEGRAF is one of the authors of the WUO "Prairie Fire" book and holds the copyright to the publication.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

On September 23, 1968 the Passport Office, USDS, advised that CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF had been issued passport #J1015806 on September 12, 1968 at Seattle for travel for a four-month stay or less in Japan, Hong Kong, Philippine Islands, and Pakistan. It was valid for five years travel to all countries except Cuba, Mainland China, North Korea, and North Vietnam.

B1

On June 8, 1967 it was ascertained that a dispute with the Progressive Labor Party leadership had led to VAN LYDEGRAF's expulsion from the Party. The Party also had brought out VAN LYDEGRAF's past connections with the Progressive Worker's Movement (PWM) in Canada. PWM is a pro-Chinese oriented organization operating in Canada. In October, 1967 VAN LYDEGRAF attended a PWM conference in Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada.

B1

On June 13, 1972 source advised that Post Office Box 1421, Eugene, Oregon, had been rented on March 23, 1972, by CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF, who furnished the address of 2465 Roosevelt Boulevard, the Communications Company, Eugene. VAN LYDEGRAF signed for the box, but two other individuals, including DANIEL SLICK, were to receive mail through the box.

On January 16, 1973 it was learned that VAN LYDEGRAF had renewed the Post Office Box and that he and SLICK were continuing to receive mail therein. (S)

(CC T-188, 6/13/72 & 1/16/73)

(SLICK traveled to Cuba with the Second Venceremos Brigade - see section of this document on SLICK.)

176

BARRY SIMON WEINBERG

BARRY WEINBERG is a white male who was born on November 6, 1948 in New York, New York. A former SDS member in 1968-1969, WEINBERG has more recently been active in the PFOC in San Francisco.

WUO/PROC Affiliation

During late 1968 and early 1969, WEINBERG publicly stated that he was a member and supporter of the SDS at Orange Coast College, Costa Mesa, California.

B1

WEINBERG is a member of the San Francisco Chapter of the PFOC where he participates in the Prison Collective. One of the objectives of the Prison Collective is to build a radical movement within the prison system.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

During the period March 10, 1972 - May 12, 1972, WEINBERG was in Cuba with the fifth contingent of the Venceremos Brigade.

B1

177

LAURA JANE WHITEHORN
Aka. Laura Stang

WHITEHORN is a white female who was born on April 16, 1945 in Brooklyn, New York. She was arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots in Chicago during October, 1969. More recently she has been a national leader of the PFOC. She is separated from her husband DONALD JAY STANG.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

B1

B1

TOP SECRET

ROBERT GREGG WILFONG

ROBERT WILFONG is a white male who was born on February 24, 1946 in Brownwood, Texas. Associated with the WUO in Massachusetts in 1969, WILFONG was arrested for illegal possession of a store of weapons and explosives in Massachusetts in 1972 and was subsequently sentenced to serve two years in prison. He was paroled in January, 1974.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

On November 17, 1969, the Cambridge Police Department received information that a group of SDS members were living in three separate homes in Cambridge, where they had weapons and ammunition. They also reportedly had been involved in a shooting incident at the Cambridge Police Department Headquarters on the evening of November 8, 1969. Addresses named where the group lived were 344 Putnam Avenue, 509 Franklin Street, and 12 Prince Street. As a result of the information received, search warrants were obtained by the Cambridge Police Department for the three addresses and during the late hours of November 17, 1969 raids were conducted. ROBERT G. WILFONG, JR., age 23, was among the group arrest at 509 Franklin Street on a charge of conspiracy to commit murder.

On November 28, 1969, no probable cause was found for the above charge against WILFONG.

The "Boston Globe," a daily Boston newspaper, in its September 24, 1971 edition reported that a Massachusetts Supreme Court Justice on September 23, 1971 denied a request for a bail reduction in the case of two individuals including WILFONG arrested in a September 16, 1971 raid of a Brookline, Massachusetts garage, where explosives and alleged revolutionary materials were located. The two were being held in $10,000 double surety bond.

WILFONG subsequently entered a plea of guilty in February, 1973, in local court and was sentenced to be incarcerated for two years. He was paroled in January, 1974.

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ANDREW MITCHELL WILLIS,
Aka"Tony"

ANDY WILLIS is a white male who was born on November 10, 1969, in Erie, Pennsylvania. WILLIS was deeply involved in WUO activity in Ohio during 1969.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

WILLIS was one of a group of WUO members who was arrested in Cleveland Heights, Ohio, on September 20, 1969, in connection with WUO efforts to disrupt the Davis Cup Tennis Matches.

During November, 1969, it was learned that the leadership of the WUO had sent WILLIS to Kent, Ohio, to work in WUO matters.

B1

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

DENNIS BLAIR WOOD.
Aka. Dale Greg Hutchins

DENNIS WOOD is a white male who was born on February 2, 1943 in Des Moines, Iowa. Active in SDS in the late 1960s, he has more recently been associated with various WUO support people.

WUO/PFOC Affiliation

WOOD was a signer of SDS position paper distributed by the University of California at Berkeley Chapter of SDS during October 1966.

During 1971, WOOD resided at 2201 Ocean Front Walk, Venice, California. This address was a commune of several persons, some of whom are past associates of Weatherman fugitives.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

B1

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MARY WOZNIAK

MARY WOZNIAK is a white female who was born in Chicago, Illinois on July 24, 1945. WOZNIAK was arrested as a part of the "Pittsburgh 26" and was again arrested during the WUO "Days of Rage" riots during October, 1969.

Foreign Travel and/or Contacts

b1

(It is noted that WOZNIAK's companions on her trip to Cuba included such leading WUO functionaries as BERNARDINE DOHRN, DIONNE DONGHI, TED GOLD, ELEANOR RASKIN and DIANA OUGHTON.)

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SECTION V

APPENDIX I

Documentation of WUO Members

The WUO has never been a membership organization as such. While it is true that some individuals have self-proclaimed themselves to be WUO members, many other members have not chosen to do so. Membership, therefore, is derived from the participation of individuals in activities normally attended by WUO members and their closest adherents. This appendix section contains lists which may be of assistance in verifying that certain of the individuals mentioned in this document are (or were) members of the WUO.

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WUO-Dominated SDS National Office
June, 1969 - February, 1970

After taking control of the SDS, the Weathermen (WUO) occupied the SDS National Office located at 1601 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois, from mid-June, 1969, until they abandoned the location during February, 1970, when the organization submerged into an underground status. Because the WUO feared that the rival Progressive Labor Party, whom they had expelled from SDS during the June, 1969, National Convention, might attempt to seize the National Office, they limited office employees to individuals who were followers of their ideology.

The following individuals who are mentioned in this document were employed in the SDS National Office during parts or all of the period indicated:

June-August, 1969

JONATHAN LERNER
CAROLINE TANNER
JOSEPH TASHIRO
MORRIS OLDER (GROSSNER)
MARTIN KENNER
KATHIE BOUDIN
JONAH RASKIN
PHOEBE HIRSCH
DAVID JOHNS

August-November, 1969

JONATHAN LERNER
CAROLINE TANNER
JOLIE CHAIN
HOWARD JEFFERSON MELISH
CHARLES CLARK MARSHALL
KATHIE BOUDIN
RUSSELL NEUFELD
ROBERT TOMASCHEVSKY

November, 1969-February 5, 1970

JONATHAN LERNER
CAROLINE TANNER
JOLIE CHAIN
DAVID KLAFTER
MARGUERITE HOPE
RUSSELL NEUFELD
ELEANOR RASKIN
JED PROUJANSKY
MARK REAL

TOP SECRET

"Days of Rage"

During October 8-11, 1969, the WUO staged a series of protest demonstrations in Chicago which are commonly referred to as the "Days of Rage" or the "National Action." These protests rapidly degenerated into destructive riots which led to open confrontations with Chicago Police. Although the WUO made a number of demands in connection with their "National Action," the primary target was the Vietnam War. Using a rallying slogan of "Bring the War Home," the WUO encouraged their followers to equip themselves for violence. To this end, participants attired themselves in helmets, boots and other heavy clothing and carried clubs and other weapons. Because the WUO's encouragement of violence on the weeks that preceded the "National Action" was so great, most other "New Left" organizations openly or passively denounced the proposed riots.

The files of the Statistical Section of the Records Division of the Chicago Police Department as reviewed on October 17, 1969, disclosed the following individuals who are mentioned in this document as having been arrested during the "Days of Rage" demonstrations:

CHRISTOPHER BAKKE
EDWARD J. BENEDICT
JEFFREY D. BLUM
KATHIE BOUDIN
ROBERT BURLINGHAM
DAVID IRA CAMP
PETER W. CLAPP
EDITH G. CRICHTON
MARK K. DINSMORE
BERNARDINE DOHRN
DIONNE M. DONGHI
ROBERT E. DUGGAN
HOWARD J. EMMER
LINDA SUE EVANS
BRIAN D. FLANAGAN
MARK FLIEGELMAN
LAURA FONER
JON F. FRAPPIER
JOHN FUERST
VICKI GABRINER
PHOEBE E. HIRSCH
MARGUERITE HOPE
JOHN G. JACOBS
NAOMI E. JAFFE
DAVID M. JOHNS
JEFFREY C. JONES
DAVID B. KLAFTER
CONSTANCE J. LONG
GERALD W. LONG
CELESTE MC CULLOUGH
NANCY LEE MAYER (MEYER)
DAVID MILLSTONE
JULIE A. NICHAMIN
LAURA A. OBERT
MORRIS A. OLDER (GROSSNER)
DIANA OUGHTON
JED PROUJANSKY
NICK B. RIDDLE
NATALEE ROSENSTEIN
MARK W. RUDD
DANIEL R. SLICK
MARGUERITE SMITH
ROBERTA SMITH
JEFFREY D. SOKOLOW
MICHAEL SPIEGEL
JANE SPIELMAN
BARRY P. STEIN
MARSHA STEINBERG
MARSHALL S. TACK
MALORIE TOLLES
ROBERT TOMASCHEVSKY
DENNIS WALDMAN
JANE ANN WHITE
LAURA WHITEHORN
CATHLYN WILKERSON

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Pittsburgh 26

In preparation for the "Days of Rage" the WUO staged several smaller scale protests in an effort to publicize their October, 1969 "National Action." One of these "actions" occurred at South Hills High School in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on September 4, 1969, when a group of WUO female members ran through the school building shouting slogans and distributing literature. The records of the Pittsburgh Police Department for September 4, 1969, disclose that the following individuals, who are mentioned in this document, were among the 26 WUO members arrested during this "action":

DIONNE DONGHI
LINDA SUE EVANS
LYNN RAYE GARVIN
NAOMI JAFFE
ELEANOR RASKIN
JANE SPIELMAN
MARSHA RHODA STEINBERG
LAURA WHITEHORN
CATHLYN PLATT WILKERSON
MARY WOZNIAK

WUO Confrontation with Chicago Police on September 24, 1969

Another WUO demonstration designed to promote the "National Action" occurred in Chicago on September 24, 1969, when WUO members and police became involved in a series of fights when the WUO refused to obey a police order to move off of a city street. The records of the Chicago Police Department reflect the following individuals mentioned in this document were arrested on September 24 or on subsequent dates as a result of their participation in this confrontation:

KATHIE BOUDIN
BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN
LEONARD HANDLESMAN
DAVID KLAFTER
HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
RUSSELL TODD NEUFELD
MICHAEL SPIEGEL
MARSHA RHODA STEINBERG
CAROLINE MARGARET TANNER
ROBERT TOMASCHEVSKY

WUO "Flint, Michigan
War Council"

The WUO's last open meeting held prior to their submergence into an underground status in early 1970 was their "Flint, Michigan War Council" held December 27-31, 1969. It was at this meeting that the decision was made to go underground and to engage in guerrilla warfare against the U.S. government. As with their "Days of Rage" virtually all of the attendees at this meeting were either WUO members or were highly sympathetic to their ideology. The following individuals, who are mentioned in this document, are known to have attended this convention:

KAREN ASHLEY
WILLIAM AYERS
KATHIE BOUDIN
JEFFREY BLUM
ROBERT BURLINGHAM
DAVID CAMP
PETER CLAPP
EDITH CRICHTON
MONA CUNNINGHAM
MARC DINSMORE
BRIAN FLANAGAN
LAURA FONER
JOHN FUERST
LYNN RAYE GARVIN
DAVID GILBERT
THEODORE GOLD
JOYCE GREENWAYS
LEONARD HANDLESMAN
PHOEBE HIRSCH
JOHN JACOBS
NAOMI JAFFE
JEFFREY JONES
MICHAEL JUSTESEN
DAVID KLAFTER
NANCY KURSHAN
KAREN LATIMER
JONATHAN LERNER
CONNIE LONG (ULLMAN)
HOWARD MACHTINGER
JEFFREY MELISH
JAMES MELLEN
RAYMOND MOSER
RUSSELL NEUFELD
DIANA OUGHTON
JED PROUJANSKY
ELEANOR RASKIN
NATALEE ROSENSTEIN
MARK RUDD
MARGUERITE SMITH
MICHAEL SPIEGEL
JANE SPIELMAN
BARRY STEIN
MALORIE TOLLES
ROBERT TOMASCHAVSKY
CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF
MARY WOZNIAK

[redacted]
(Special Agents of the FBI from photographs taken by Michigan State Police of the meeting)

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The records of the Flint, Michigan, Police Department reflect that a number of vehicles were noted as being parked at the ballroom where the "Flint, Michigan War Council" meeting was held. The following are vehicles registered to individuals mentioned in this document:

JEFFREY BLUM
G.A. CAVALLETTO
THOMAS B. COOK
DENNIS CUNNINGHAM (husband of MONA CUNNINGHAM)
JOHN F. FRAPPIER
JEFFREY HAAS
MARGUERITE HOPE
MARGARET JUSTESEN (mother of MICHAEL JUSTESEN)
MELODY KILIAN (now known as MELODY ERMACHILD)
DOROTHY SOMPOLINSKY

The Flint Police Department records also reflect that a number of vehicles were stopped and checked in the vicinity of the "War Council" during the period of December 27-31, 1969. The following individuals, whose names are mentioned in this document, were noted as being in these vehicles:

WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS
SCOTT ADDY BRALEY
BERNARDINE RAE DOHRN
LINDA SUE EVANS
LAURA FONER
JON FREDERIC FRAPPIER
NICHOLAS ALBRECHT FREUDENBERG
JOHN FUERST
ANN HATHAWAY
JOHN GREGORY JACOBS
JEFFREY CARL JONES
NANCY KURSHAN
HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
JAMES MELLEN
RAYMOND LEE MOSER
MORRIS OLDER (GROSSNER)
JANE ANN WHITE
LAURA STANG (WHITEHORN)

WUO "Pine Street Bomb Factory"

[redacted] San Francisco, California. He stated that during April, 1970, one CLINTON EVERETT WILLARD rented the apartment for a year period ending March, 1971. At the time he claimed to be employed by Mr. EZRA HENDON, an attorney in Berkeley, California. When [redacted] arrived at the building in mid-April, 1971, he discovered the apartment apparently abandoned. On inspection he discovered bombing paraphernalia which led him to contact the FBI.

[redacted] viewed photographs of various WUO members and identified photographs on California drivers licenses in the names CLINTON EVERETT WILLARD and ROBERT PEARSON WHITE as being identical to the man who rented the apartment. (Both the WILLARD and WHITE drivers licenses had come to the attention of the FBI in previous investigation insofar as both individuals in whose names these licenses were issued died as infants.) [redacted] also identified a photograph of WUO member CLAYTON VAN LYDEGRAF as being identical to the older man who helped to move "WILLARD" into the apartment. (On May 20, 1971 [redacted] Kent State University, Kent, Ohio, was shown the WILLARD and WHITE drivers licenses and advised that both bore the photograph of MARK JOSEPH REAL, whom he knew to have been the WUO leader in the Kent area in late 1969.)

Inspection of the apartment yielded an amount of explosives and bomb making paraphernalia. Fingerprints were subsequently lifted from articles in the apartment by Special Agents of the FBI. Fingerprints of the following WUO members were found in this apartment:

KAREN LYNN ASHLEY
WILLIAM CHARLES AYERS
KATHIE BOUDIN
PETER WALES CLAPP
JOHN WILLARD DAVIS
DAVID JOSEPH GILBERT
NAOMI ESTHER JAFFE
MICHAEL THOMAS JUSTESEN
HOWARD NORTON MACHTINGER
JULIE NICHAMIN
JEFFREY DAVID POWELL
SHELDON ROSENBAUM
MARK WILLIAM RUDD
MICHAEL LOUIS SPIEGEL
LAWRENCE MICHAEL WEISS
CATHLYN PLATT WILKERSON

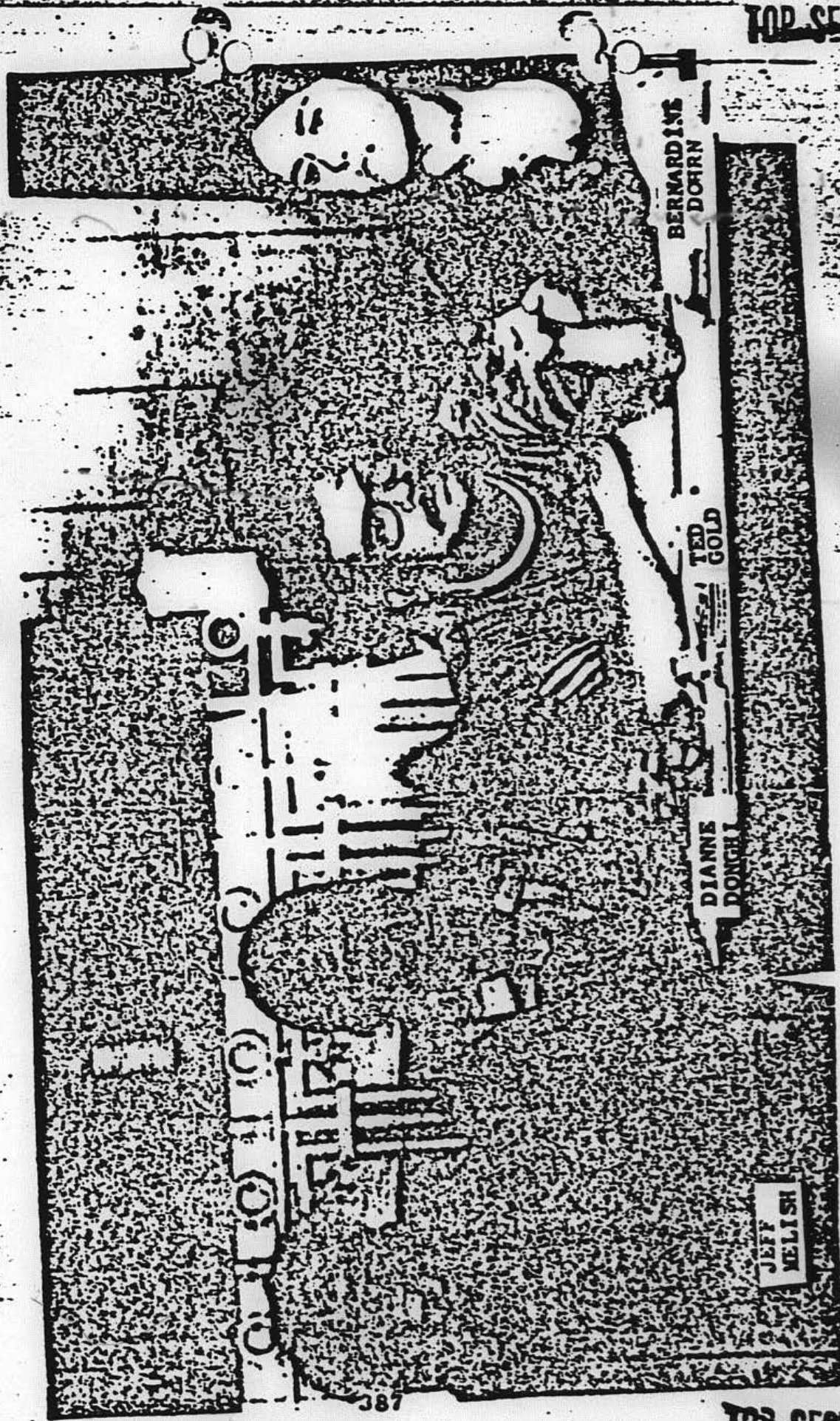
APPENDIX II

The following photographs reveal the influence of the Vietnamese on certain WUO leaders from the meeting held in Havana, Cuba in July, 1969 through the "Days of Rage" held in Chicago in October, 1969.

BERNARDINE DOHRN - HUYNH VAN BA - LUIS CUZA
Havana, Cuba, July, 1969

TOP SECRET

BERNARDINE with representatives of the PRG of South Vietnam

CARLOS APONTE - BERNARDINE DOHRN - PETER WALES CLAPP
Havana, Cuba, July 1969

TOP SECRET

Weatherman Press Conference, New York City, August 19, 1969 on return from Cuba where "National Action" plans announced.

TOP SECRET

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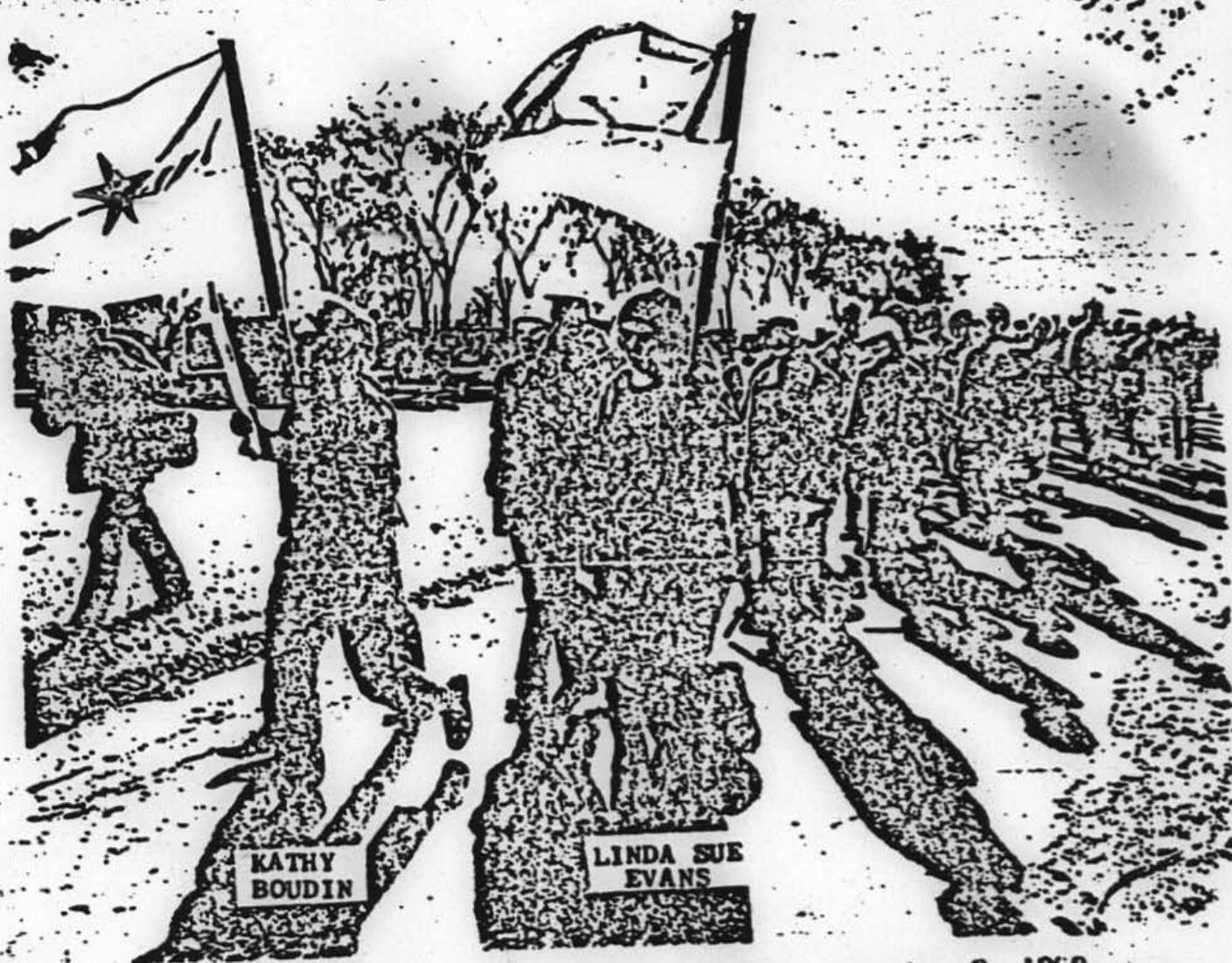
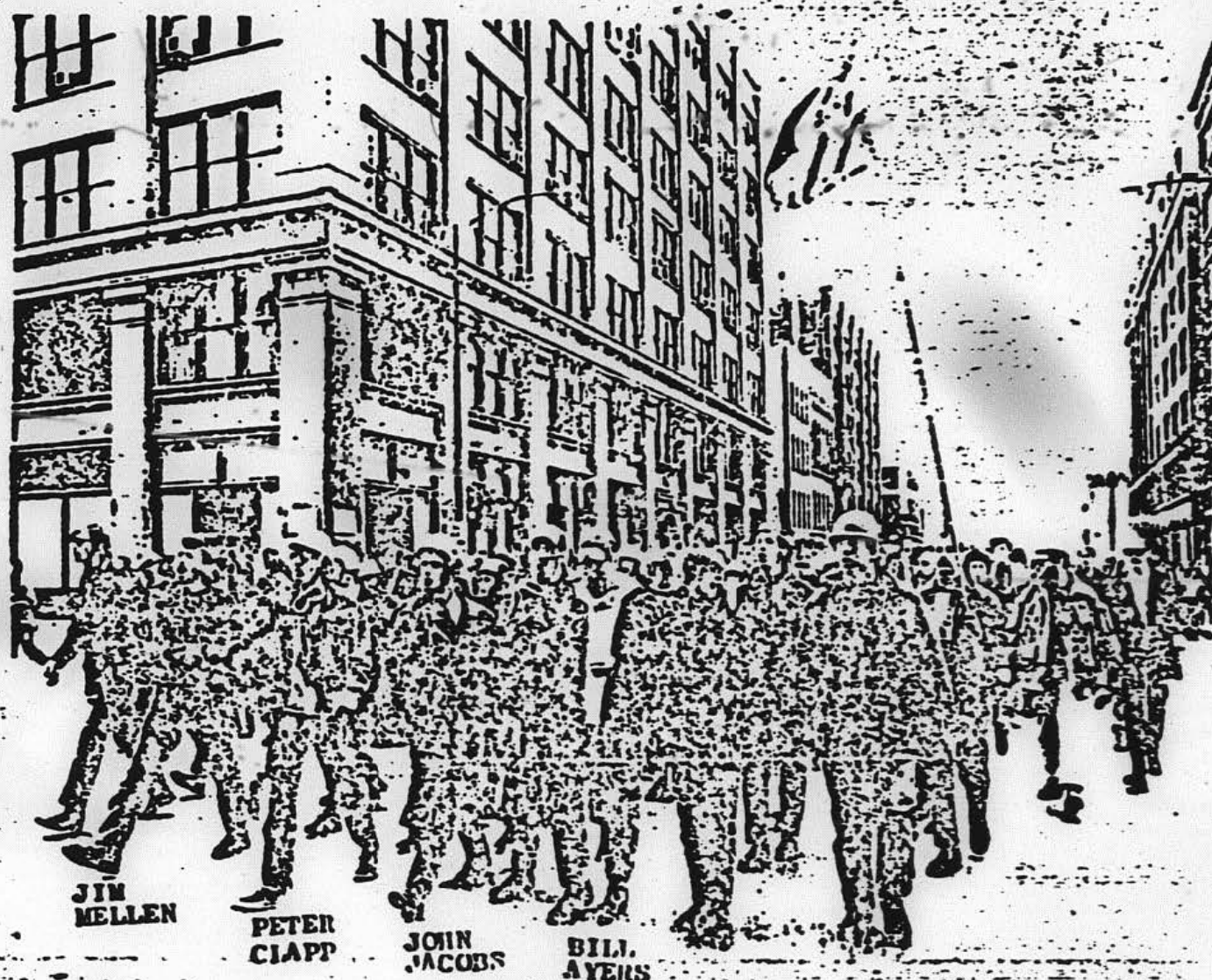

Leading Women's Action - "Days of Rage", October 9, 1969,
Grant Park, Chicago

TOP SECRET

JIM MELLEN

PETER CLAPP

JOHN JACOBS

BILL AYERS

Leading "Days of Rage" march, October 11, 1969, Chicago, Illinois which culminated in 287 arrests

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TOP SECRET

APPENDIX III

Testimony of RONALD L. BROOKS, Agent, Illinois Crime Investigating Commission in Hearings before the Subcommittee to Investigate the Administration of the Internal Security Act and other Internal Security Laws of the Committee on the Judiciary, United States Senate, June 10,1970

The following material has been xeroxed from the above named report. It details the actions of Weatherman activists, particularly JULIE NICHAMIN, in their efforts to set up the VB. Of special note is the comment at the end of page 299 of the transcript by NICHAMIN which states that "if any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here." This would be, of course, JESUS JIMINEZ ESCOBAR, First Secretary, Cuban United Nations Mission, located in New York City.

TOP SECRET

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EXHIBIT 3

[For Bernadine, 26 January, Havana]

NOTES ON HOW PEOPLE SHOULD BE SELECTED FOR THE BRIGADE

From the point of view of the Cubans, and the Movement people who first developed the idea of the brigade, one of the most important aspects of the project was the contribution it could make in pulling SDS together organizationally and

politically. We have come up with some ideas about the selection process for members of the brigade that we think could help develop ideas about collective responsibility and discipline. We've gotten the ideas from talks with party people down here about the selection procedure of Cuban party members.

1. There should be an initial program in which the brigade is described. This should obviously include a discussion of the 10 million tons and what they mean from an historical point of view, from the point of view of economic development in order to build a better understanding of what the Cuban revolution is all about. Then the qualifications for members of the brigade should be discussed (this amounts to a definition of our criteria for choosing members). We think it is important to stress the need for people who are self-disciplined and responsible, and who have a fairly high degree of commitment and involvement in the Movement. This is especially important to the Cubans, who are looking very much toward the *future* contribution these 150 people can make to the Movement.

2. After there is a pretty good understanding in the chapters about what the brigade is all about, they can hold nominating sessions, in which chapter members suggest people whom they feel meet the necessary qualifications to be a brigade member. Again, we believe that this procedure for suggesting names can begin to develop, in concrete terms, a sense of collective discipline and responsibility. This is because the idea is introduced in a meaningful context, where people understand the specific need for selecting people for political roles in a particular manner.

3. Next comes the crucial stage: sessions in which the qualifications of the people nominated are publically discussed, sessions of criticism and self-criticism, sessions where people's work and personalities are discussed in political terms. The Cubans have told us that these meetings are tremendously important in the selection process for the party here, that frequently it is the only time in which people's work and attitudes are evaluated publically, and finally, that the sessions are very educational and very traumatic. We believe that although sessions like these often take place among small groups of people in the Movement who are close friends and work closely together, that nothing of this sort exists among the majority of the people. Hopefully, the understanding of such evaluations and their value politically can be generalized.

4. The next stage, in which people are selected from the list of names of nominees, we feel, will be the most difficult. There has to be a group, a national council or committee, which will have the responsibility of carrying out the final selection process. Autobiographical material should be solicited from each nominee. People should be interviewed to get information about the nominee's political work, about his relationships with the people he works with, etc. And then that group, with the power which has been given to it, and according to criteria which have been developed and are publically known, and in accordance with distribution quotas (perhaps defined regionally and according to population density), the final choice can be made.

We feel that the main problem here might be the notion of a hierarchy of decision-making: that a small group will have the final determination about the composition of the brigade. We aren't too clear yet about how the national committee should be formed; we do feel very strongly that it should include people who are willing to make themselves completely responsible for the tasks that will be assigned to them, and that they should have a good understanding of the nature of the Cuban revolution as well as a good understanding of the Movement. The point is that once the criteria for membership has been determined and the national committee formed, there can be no disputes as to the authority of that committee to make decisions (obviously, we mean here, only in the areas for which they have been mandated).

En brigada va,

JULIE NICHAMIN,
BRIAN MURPHY.

P.S. I (Julie) will be down here at least until the middle of April; if any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimenez at the Mission to forward down here.

Mr. ROMINE. A postscript on the letter reads as follows:

"I (Julie) will be down here" referring to Havana "at least until the middle of April; if any help or information is needed, just get the letter to Jimines at the mission to forward down here."

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We later received information from a reliable source indicating that Jimenez is, in fact, Jesus Jimenez Escobar, who was secretary of the Cuban mission to the United Nations. Escobar was expelled from the United States on February 19, 1969, for carrying out activities unbecoming to his role as a diplomat.

Mr. SOURWINE. Let me go off the record.

Senator THURMOND. Off the record.

(Discussion off the record.)

Senator THURMOND. On the record.

Mr. SOURWINE. Go ahead, please.

Mr. BROOKS. The second document, exhibit 2, is seven pages long. It appears to be a working paper for choosing Venceremos candidates. This paper is also signed by Julie Nichamin and is entitled "Proposal on the Cuban Revolution." The paper consists primarily of Cuban Communist propaganda and lists the political purposes of the brigade. At this time I would offer this document as the Commission's second exhibit.

Mr. SOURWINE. May it be received, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be received.

(The document referred to follows:)

EXHIBIT 2

PROPOSAL OF CUBAN REVOLUTION

Shortly before his death in battle, Jose Marti (leader of the Cuban independence movement) wrote that he embraced the chance to give his life in the struggle, and "with the independence of Cuba, to prevent the United States extending itself throughout the Antilles and pouncing with this added force upon the countries of our America."

Marti died, and his hopes for true Cuban independence remained unfulfilled for sixty years, as United States' imperialism relentlessly carried out Marti's prophecy in Cuba and the entire Latin American continent. The United States rapidly became the center of world-wide imperialism, all the while increasing its economic penetration and domination of Third World countries, particularly those in Latin America. Cuba is the first Latin American country to break out of U.S. domination and control. Since our movement to destroy American imperialism from the inside is inextricably linked with Third World liberation movements, we should understand in what ways the Cuban Revolution serves as an example for these struggles, and we should be prepared to offer it the most concrete support possible. This proposal contains a position on the Cuban Revolution, a call to support a North American brigade to cut sugar cane in the 1970 Ten Million Ton harvest as a means of demonstrating our solidarity, and a call for a national educational program on the Cuban Revolution.

I. Description: Political Background

North American intervention in the Cuban War of Independence against Spain (sometimes called the "Spanish-American War") forced Cuba to move from the domain of Spanish colonial power to the status of neo-colony of the United States. Under the protection of such varied means as outright military intervention, the Platt amendment, tariff agreements, and the sugar quota arrangement, the U.S. imperialists systematically carried out their domination of Cuban society. No other Latin American country had its economy penetrated so quickly and so thoroughly. The imperialists controlled the best land, all the mines, the greater part of the sugar industry, public services, the most efficient industries, the electric power industry, the telephone service, the railroads, the most important businesses and the banks.

This period of American domination of Cuba (1902-1958) corresponds to the [illegible] in the United States, and the mechanisms of acquisition and control of Cuba were an extension of this process. Cuba was a [illegible] market for U.S. surplus capital and manufactured goods, as well as a source of raw materials. [illegible]

the (American) monopolies that geared the Cuban economy to sugar, dominated its resources, saturated its industry with the goods they pumped in, and drained out its foreign exchange for luxuries." This economic domination had its political counterpart in the "pseudo-republic" with its bourgeois, neocolonial parliamentary system. These two forces, economic and political domination by the imperialists, are the roots of the Cuban revolutionary struggle, and define the logic of the Cuban revolutionary process. Sartre describes the nature of the Cuban political superstructure (so familiar today in all the Third World):

"... In the midst of that almost total dependence, what could the politicians who governed you have done? For the country, nothing. Their impotence came not from their vices but from their servitude; and their vices, on the other hand, were born from their impotence.... In other words, THE BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY WAS NOTHING MORE THAN A FLAT JOKE IF IT WERE NOT FOUNDED UPON NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY. And that sovereignty ... would continue to be an empty abstraction so long as it was not the concrete consequence of ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE. The first objective of the revolutionary struggle were already manifesting themselves, revealing a more radical and imperative finality.... the economic imperialism of the Foreign Power necessarily created its own accomplices in the very countries it was crushing, ... representatives of foreign imperialism on their own soil; to fight for the independence of the Cuban economy, for the sovereignty of (the) State and for the honesty of (the) ruling officials, was *first* to fight against them."

In order to be politically and economically independent and to be able to develop the Cuban economy for the benefit of all the Cubans, to re-distribute wealth, the Cuban revolutionaries had to seize power (through armed struggle and the defeat of Batista's army), and destroy the domestic bourgeoisie and its international bosses, American capitalists with interests in Cuba (through class struggle and the expropriation and nationalization of the productive forces). As Fidel said, speaking of Cuba's historical position in Latin America:

"... We are the first people of this continent to abolish the exploitation of man by man! It is true that we were the last to begin (to gain independence and free slaves), but it is also true that we have gone further than anybody else. We have eradicated the capitalist system of exploitation; we have made the people the true owners of their future and their wealth. WE WERE THE LAST TO BREAK THE CHAINS OF THE COLONY, BUT WE HAVE BEEN THE FIRST TO THROW OFF THE CHAINS OF IMPERIALISM."

In the early years of the Revolution, power was consolidated and guaranteed by the arming of the people (in people's militias) and the enlargement of the Rebel Army. The armed force of the Revolutionary Government was their chief class weapon against internal enemies (counter-revolutionaries) and foreign imperialists and their agents. At the same time, efforts were begun to develop the Cuban economy. Speaking to workers at a May Day rally, Fidel said:

"How many were there who could understand that a revolution did not mean that the people would simply enter an era of wealth, but that it meant that they would begin to create that wealth, begin to lay the groundwork for that era of wealth?... There wasn't even a political organization that represented the will and effort of all the people. That is why we speak of the triumph of the rebellion instead of the triumph of the revolution."

The Cubans see work as the battle of their new war—the war of a Revolution in power against underdevelopment, and they see the Party as the vanguard of that struggle. During the Revolutionary War the guerrillas were vanguard which, through the process of armed struggle, created the subjective conditions necessary for victory (the consciousness that victory was possible by violent means), and developed the strategies which led to that victory. After the socialist revolution changed the *objective relations* of production in Cuban society, the Party became the vanguard which created the *subjective conditions* necessary for the development of a communist society, and developed the policies for the economic changes leading to an economy of abundance. The change in consciousness comes from participation in the struggle to develop the economy, and from an understanding of that process. As Che said:

"Every worker, on every level, becomes a soldier for the economy, . . . their vanguard (is) the party, composed of the most advanced workers, of the advanced men who move along bound to the masses and in close communion with them . . . To build communism, a new man must be created simultaneously with the material base."

Selection of party members in Cuba is unique in the socialist world. All potential party members must be nominated from the base; in every work-place there

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is a workers' assembly in which nominees are chosen for the party nucleus of that work-place. The party retains the right to review and evaluate each nominee's qualifications and make the final choice of admission, and it presents its justifications for acceptance or rejection at another public workers' assembly. Che:

"Our aspiration is that the party become a mass one, but only when the masses reach the level of development of the vanguard, that is, when they are educated for communism. Our work is aimed at providing that education. The party is the living example; . . . with their acts they must lead the masses to the end of the revolutionary task, which means years of struggle against the difficulties of construction, the class enemies, the defects of the past, imperialism."

Internationalism

Internationalism is fundamental to the Cuban revolution. The Cubans understand this from their own point of view: (Che) "If (a revolutionary's) eagerness becomes dulled when the most urgent tasks are carried on a local scale, and if he forgets about proletarian internationalism, the revolution that he leads ceases to be a driving force and it sinks into a comfortable drowsiness which is taken advantage of by imperialism, our irreconcilable enemy, to gain ground. Proletarian internationalism is a duty, but it is also a revolutionary need. This is how we educate our people."

They also understand that imperialism must be destroyed before communism can really exist in any country: "Humanity comes before one's own country", quoted Fidel, and "communism cannot be built in one country in the midst of an underdeveloped world."

The Cubans have taken the position that in the Third World, armed struggle is the fundamental road to the seizure of power, and that all other forms of struggle must be subordinated to it. They also understand the importance of a revolution from within the heart of imperialism: the imperialists will be destroyed by the *combined* revolutionary movements from within and outside. Che's call for two, three, many Viet-Nams includes a call for the creation of a Viet-Nam within the very boundaries of the imperialist Mother Country: the United States.

Economic Strategy

Economic policy in the early years of the revolution was based on the conviction that readjusting economic priorities and releasing idle labor and resources gave unlimited opportunities for economic growth, and that to break out of the condition of neo-colonialism meant to industrialize and to diversify agriculture. Therefore, the first two important goals were seen as import-substitution and the development of a heavy industrial base. These policies required heavy investment of foreign reserves in raw materials, factories, the building of an economic infrastructure, the training of skilled personnel, and construction, which placed a severe strain on the Cuban economy. Pressure on reserves (foreign exchange as well as labor and resources) forced the Cubans to re-evaluate their policies. According to Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, their conclusions were that strong dependence on foreign trade could not be ended in a short period. Further, as a tropical country, Cuba had many agricultural products (sugar, dairy and meat products, citrus fruit, coffee, tobacco) which she could offer to other socialist countries (and increasingly, to non-socialist countries) who in turn were capable of providing a stabilized market with good prices. This meant that sugar, primarily, meat and dairy products, and citrus fruits would provide the bulk of foreign exchange making industrial development possible, in addition to solidifying their own subsistence base. This focus on agriculture aims at a mechanized agriculture, which will produce capital for re-investment, while at the same time freeing labor for other activities. The early stages of industrial development are viewed as deriving from the focus on agriculture: industries required by a technologically advanced agricultural development (fertilizer, cement, electricity, agricultural equipment), and industries which agriculture generates (based on agricultural by-products and processing). The Ten Million Ton harvest of 1970 is thus crucial in Cuba's economic development: it will be the turning-point on the road toward sustained economic growth. The revenue from this harvest will enable Cuba to mechanize and improve the agricultural sector and advance the expansion of her industrial sector.

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SUMMARY: POSITION ON THE CUBAN REVOLUTION

As participants in an anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist movement, we fully support the Cuban revolution on the basis of the following:

(1) The Cuban socialist revolution has brought about a re-distribution of wealth and created an economic policy aimed at developing the economic basis (abundance) for a communist society.

(2) Cuba is in the vanguard of an effort to revitalize socialism, and create a new socialist man, having clearly learned a great deal from the shortcomings of socialism as practiced in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The gradual elimination of money, the use of moral incentives, mass participation in the military and political processes, the building of mass consciousness, authentic measures to destroy class differences and to prevent the emergence of a new bureaucratic class—all are part of Cuba's experiment in the creation of a new socialism.

(3) Cuba has developed a new concept of internationalism, expressed in the Second Declaration of Havana: "the duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution." Che's call for "two, three, many Viet-Nams" is a strategy for the defeat of imperialism, and the guiding concept for a new International centered in the Third World and linked to New Left struggles in the advanced capitalist countries.

(4) Since Cuba is the first liberated territory in the Americas, it is under constant attack by the U.S. Government. As North Americans dedicated to the destruction of imperialism, it is our obligation to oppose our government's policies in the most effective concrete way possible.

II. Support of a North-American Brigade to cut Cane in the 1970 Sugar Harvest
Political Purposes of the Brigade

(1) We politically, morally and materially support Cuba in the critical sugar harvest of 1970 with its goal of 10 million tons.

(2) To educate people about imperialism and about the international revolution against imperialism. This will be accomplished through a well-developed education and propaganda program. The program will aim at developing an understanding of U.S. imperialism, not only in its most blatant militaristic aspects (as in Vietnam), but also its role in distorting and impeding economic development throughout the Third World.

(3) To help develop a working unity among participants (students, drop-outs, blacks, chicanos, white working class youth GI's) based on concrete, practical tasks.

(4) To strengthen our organizational capacity. The carrying out of this program on a national level, with the cooperation of other groups, will force us to confront problems of internal organization as conditions of struggle become more difficult. This will include the further development of a serious and disciplined revolutionary cadre and base, already in the process of being formed. We can learn no mechanical lessons from Cuba, but we can gain general inspiration, ideological clarity and political growth.

(5) To gain a practical understanding of the creative application of communist principles on a day-to-day basis. The New Left in the advanced capitalist countries has in the last decade clearly defined itself within the tradition of socialist and communist struggle begun a century ago. The American mass media and educational system have made the word communism into anathema; this experience will help us to develop ways of combating anti-communism.

III. Support of an Educational Program of the Cuban Revolution

The N.O., along with REP and the New England Free Press shall be encouraged to distribute literature on the Cuban revolution, including speeches of Che and Fidel, and articles describing and analyzing the Cuban Revolution. Chapters shall be encouraged to develop political education sessions on the Cuban Revolution, which can be coordinated with the recruitment of brigade members in the chapters.

JULIE NICHAMIN.

could best be implemented through ads I would push it at the nic. BUT, if as you said PL turns it into a huge sectarian thing that would hamper its implementation, then I would favor working outside of national ads.

Love/Struggle.

RUSSELL.

Mr. SOURWINE. Very good. Thank you.

Mr. BROOKS. The Commission's fifth exhibit, exhibit 5, contains two cover letters and a document entitled "Working Committee Working Proposal for Brigades." One cover letter has the date April 6 with no year. From reading the material I would say that this was April 6, 1969, soon after the SDS national council meeting at Austin, Tex. The document attached to the cover letters tells of the political purposes of the brigade and what criteria should be used in selecting members. The letters are variously signed by Arlene Bergman and the "Working Committee" made up of Karen Ashley, Arlene Bergman, and Jerry Long. The name of Bernardine Dohrn is mentioned several times in the document. I would now like to offer this as Commission's exhibit No. 5.

Mr. SOURWINE. May it be received, Mr. Chairman?

Senator THURMOND. Without objection, it will be received.

(The document referred to follows:)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—Certain obscene words herein have been printed in a style conforming to the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing.)

EXHIBIT 5

COMPANEROS BERNADINE, KAREN AND JERRY—APRIL 6

Here's the proposal I worked out on the basis of our talks. Hopefully, I didn't f——— up too much, but I may have, so scream loud and fast if you think I did.

Karen, I'm sending you several copies of the proposal cause I don't have the addresses of everyone else in that Austin meeting. Unless there are screams of f – —- from B.J. or yourself, you should mail the copies out immediately.

Both Ogelsby and Locker has seen this proposal. Ogelsby declares his opinions irrelevant and doesn't want to work with us—Bernadine, I guess was already informed us—and by the way Bernadine, he says he is quitting the NIC, the only doubt is whether or not he'll make it formal. After some hassle with Locker, he agreed to the proposal, but he told me he didn't want to be on the exec. comm. anyway (no time).

I haven't spoken to BPP or TWLF yet (and we also have to figure out what other brown groups—YLO is Puerto Rican and supposedly the Cubans don't want any PR's)—Didn't think I should show the proposal to them without everyone else's ok.

No time to write more about NC, how it was good to meet you, Jerry, and Karen etc.

Adelante Guerillero Adelante Guerrillera.

ARLENE.

P.S. Bernadine—Here's the Statement of Principles of the RU—you have, I think their other paper—Leibel (Linc's old man), Hamilton will be visiting you soon—take it easy—

Love & struggle.

ARLENE.

COMPANEROS

This is only meant to be a working paper—kind of an expanded agenda so we can begin to move concretely.

You should study and discuss it with the Austin meeting people and in written form and send your comments, criticisms, suggestions to: Arlene, 2210 California Street, Berkeley 94703. By April 20 (remember the Che brigade).

If there are any big hassles or substantive antagonistic disagreements we will have to meet (and soon, like before the end of April).

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If there are no big hassles, the working committee will proceed to contact the *Black Panthers*, *TWLF* etc. and try to make logistical arrangements for the exec. comm. to begin to work together. Hopefully this will happen early may.

Hasta la victoria siempre,

THE WORKING COMMITTEE,
KAREN, ARLENE AND JERRY.

WORKING COMMITTEE WORKING PROPOSAL FOR BRIGADES

I. PURPOSES OF THE BRIGADES

We should be able to reach agreement on these purposes among ourselves, the BPP and TWLF before proceeding to anything else, since the structure of the project and its implementation must flow from the political purposes of the trip. A fundamental assumption is that any project we push must have a specific political purpose (as opposed to a why-not-what-a-groove-it's-a-chance-to-get-to-Cuba attitude).

If we agree on our political purpose first—that can stand as a relatively stable standard when hassles come up in the future. We should work out this statement of purpose well enough so that it will be a real guide.

Purposes of this specific project naturally flow from our broader political perspective. This is not meant to be a definitive statement—but rather a set of broad boundaries to our perspective that we must be able to agree on.

A. Boundaries

(1) The major struggle in the world today is against US imperialism. (Imperialism is understood not merely as a f—— immoral foreign policy but as integral to advanced capitalism.) The struggles of the people's of the world against imperialism weaken the domestic position of monopoly capitalism, enabling our struggle to advance. Likewise, whatever we accomplish against the monster from the inside creates more favorable conditions for the struggles outside the monster, i.e. the struggles are complementary.

(2) Black people were the first victims of U.S imperialism here and abroad. The struggle of black people is one of national liberation. Also, since the great majority of black people are workers, it is in the vanguard of US working class struggles.

(3) All revolutionaries have to join with the working class, and develop unity with black people and the peoples of the world to defeat imperialism. We may have disagreement over the definition of working class—but minimally we can agree that the struggle against imperialism must be waged on all available fronts, especially among the industrial proletariat, working class youth in the army schools, streetcorners etc.

(4) The duty of the revolutionary is to make a revolution. This means armed struggle against the ruling class.

(5) While no timetable is possible, we can agree that in the future we will need some kind of Marxist-Leninist Party. Of course, a revolutionary party can only be successful when there are revolutionary masses and the masses and party are integrally tied. We need an organization capable of maintaining energy, continuity and direction of the political struggle. The enemy is highly organized. To defeat it, we must also be organized.

A step in the direction of building a party is for people with a revolutionary perspective to form collectives which link up with the on-going struggles of all oppressed people. These groups should accept collective discipline, carry out self-criticism of their political work and apply the most advanced revolutionary concepts to all their struggles.

B. Political Purposes of the Brigade (*no priority intended, all viewed as complementary*).

(1) To politically, morally and materially support Cuba in the Zafra which strengthens the most important bastion against imperialism in this hemisphere, and therefore aids our domestic struggle.

(2) In publicizing the brigade, we will be able to educate many people about imperialism, the international revolution against imperialism, who are our brothers and who are our enemies.

(3) Develop a working unity based on a practical concrete task against imperialism among participants in the brigade of ALL COLORS. Learn from

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each other on a day to day basis etc. (recruitment of some poor and working class white people is very important here).

(4) Contribute to the further development of revolutionary cadre already in the process of bring formed in the US, i.e., deepen our understanding of the above principles, learn how to be good comrades (if you prefer "compañeros" or brothers), seriousness and urgency of struggle. We can learn no mechanical lessons from Cuba—but we can get general inspiration, principles etc. Nor do we want to become "Cuba experts" or get involved in super-sectarian debates about international questions that have little practical relevance to the struggle here.

II. THE PROJECT ITSELF

This part must be very sketchy because so much depends on the exec. comm. selection, American political scene, repression etc. We'll have to be flexible and more definite plans must be formulated by the final exec comm. (SDS, BPP, TWLF, F).

A. Inside the Monster

(1) Chapters of the national organizations represented on the exec. comm. and/or a national mass "ad hoc group" (the choice is a pragmatic one) should engage in massive educational campaigns about the political purposes of the brigades and activities that highlight America's relationship to Cuba e.g. breaking the blockade, and attacking the most virulent spokesmen for the blockade. Many imaginative projects that would suit local conditions.

(2) Legal defense, fundraising etc.

(3) Preparation of brigade members—there should be minimal reading requirements on Cuba, internationalism, communist principles and perhaps some guidelines to prevent culture shock and ugly Americanism. The exec. comm. should organize this—the group should get together before leaving, definitely on a regional basis and, we should do all possible to have some orientation sessions on a national level. (this might be carried on the boat).

B. In Cuba

(1) At this point, it's absurd to lay out much concrete. We might aim for around 150 people, but the main consideration is quality. Composition should be divided as equally as possible (mas e menos) among the major groups: BPP, TWLF, SDS. It would be good if brigades integrated not only these three groups, but also included some Cuban workers.

(2) Brigade members should mix work and study.

(3) SWEAT, SWEAT, SWEAT.

III. SELECTION OF BRIGADE MEMBERS

A. The Process

(1) Local or regional chapters of the participating national organizations should nominate people to the exec. comm.

(2) Nominees should fill out written application that tries to get some biography and at the nominees' feelings about the above political points, plus their practical political experience and future plans for movement activity.

(3) After interviews with exec comm, exec comm makes final decision.

B. Basic Criteria for Selection

(1) Some knowledge of Spanish—for people who want to go and otherwise seem solid, we should strongly urge intensive language courses (this should be urged when we first start asking for nominees).

(2) Personal maturity—no ego-trips, hang-ups in relating to small group of same people for long time, understanding of "Socialist-Cuban morality" re drugs and sex, physical health and honesty.

(3) Some movement references and history—lessen the dangers that we get agents or people who act like agents in Cuba or when they return.

(4) Understanding and agreement with the boundaries of our political perspectives. (see above)

(5) Some movement experience in putting theory into practice.

C. How Rigid Is Rigid?

Obviously there are very few accomplished revolutionaries in the US, and it would be a drag to expect everyone to be at the same political level of sophistication. Ideology and practice is very uneven and, of course, varies with differences in race, geography and practical experience in struggle. We should aim for

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